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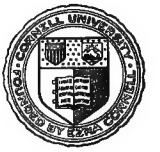

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LONDON,

Samuel Holdsworth, Amen Corner,

Paternoster Row

1837

THE LIFE

OF

NICHOLAS LEWIS

COUNT ZINZENDORF,

BISHOP AND ORDINARY OF THE CHURCH OF THE UNITED (OR MORAVIAN) BRETHREN.

BY THE

REV. AUGUST GOTTLIEB SPANGENBERG.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN,
BY SAMUEL JACKSON, ESQ.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY PREFACE,
BY THE REV. P. LA TROBE.

"And hast borne, and hast patience, and for my name's sake hast laboured, and hast not fainted."—Rev. ii. 3.

LONDON:
SAMUEL HOLDSWORTH, AMEN-CORNER,
PATERNOSTER ROW.
1838.

LONDON:
R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD-STREET-HILL.

PREFACE.

THE following pages contain an Abridged Translation of a Memoir of Count Zinzendorf, which appeared in Germany between the years 1772 and 1775, from the pen of the Rev. August Gottlieb Spangenberg, Bishop of the Church of the United Brethren.* In the Preface to the original work, the venerable author describes, with characteristic simplicity, the object which he had in view in its compilation, the reasons which induced him to undertake it, and the sources whence his materials were principally derived. An extract from that Preface can therefore hardly fail to be interesting and acceptable to the reader.

"I here present to the public, the true character and course of life of a man, of whom I may affirm, without hesitation, that his like is hardly to be met with in the history of more than one century. In saying this, I have respect, not so much to his great and distinguished talents,—for I am aware, that from time to time men have appeared, whom the Creator has been pleased to endow with extraordinary mental powers and qualifications,—but rather to the use to which those talents were applied, and the consequences of such application. These lay open to us his heart, and reveal the spirit by which he was animated. From his childhood to his departure, he had but one great object in view—to serve our Lord Jesus Christ with soul and body. The eternal truth,

* *Leben des Herrn Nicolaus Ludwig, Grafen und Herrn von Zinzendorf und Pottendorf, beschrieben von August Gottlieb Spangenberg: in* 8 *Theilen,* 1772—1775.

that God was manifest in the flesh,—the history of the Lord of glory, who became man that he might die for sinners, and redeem them to himself with his precious blood,—made so deep an impression on him, even in his earliest years, that he was determined to know nothing higher or more important, throughout the whole of his future life. Because he was captivated with this subject, and his heart was full of it, he spake, wrote, and sang of it, with an emotion, which placed the fervour and sincerity of his faith beyond a doubt. His resolution was taken, —and he adhered to it firmly and immovably,—to testify of this truth before the whole world, and to venture all for the sake of it. In a private or a public station, at home or abroad, in his intercourse with friends or with enemies, with persons of high or of low estate, with the learned or the unlearned, herein he was always the same. This good confession was his bond of union with many thousand friends, who loved him tenderly, and to whom he was indeed invaluable; and it was, at the same time, the cause of much of that animosity which was displayed towards him by a host of enemies, who painted him in viler colours, and persecuted him with more untiring ardour, than if he had been the worst of heretics. His writings, which certainly contain much that is peculiar and original, are highly prized by some persons, while others denounce them with a zeal bordering on madness. Between these extremes, a mean position is occupied by thousands, who are neither for him nor against him. By none, however, can it be denied, that he was the instrument in the hand of God, for planting the church of the Brethren in almost every quarter of the globe. He was a man of lively disposition, quick perception, penetrating judgment, extended views, extraordinary zeal, unwearied diligence, incomparable genius, great experience, and, notwithstanding a degree of timidity and diffidence

inherent in his character, of very lofty courage and cheerful confidence. The issue of the transactions in which he was engaged, rendered it manifest that God was with him, and that he was supported by the Divine hand in his various undertakings for the good of his fellow men, whose temporal and eternal well-being he was unceasingly solicitous to promote. To the church of Christ at large he was enabled to render essential service; and at length, after beholding much fruit from his labours, and laying all at the feet of his gracious Lord and Master, he was permitted to finish his course with joy.

"In the hearts and consciences of those who truly knew him, he had the clearest and most undoubted witness, that he was a worthy man of God, and a faithful servant of Jesus Christ.

"The individual whose character I have attempted thus briefly to pourtray, was Nicolas Lewis, Count and Lord of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, Lord of the Baronies of Freydeck, Schöneck, Thürnstein, and the Vale of Wachovia, Lord of the Manor of Upper, Middle, and Lower Bertholdsdorf, Hereditary Warden of the Chace to his Imperial Roman Majesty, in the Duchy of Austria, below the Ens, and at one time Aulic and Justicial Counsellor to the Elector of Saxony.*

* "I enumerate all the titles of the Count, because he not unfrequently availed himself of one or other of them, when he found it expedient to travel, or to labour for a season *incognito*. Thus at one time he assumed the name of Von Freydeck, at another, of Von Thürnstein, &c."

The family of Zinzendorf appears to be of very remote antiquity in the Duchy of Austria. As early as the eleventh century, it was numbered among the twelve noble houses, which were the chief support of the Austrian dynasty. From its founder Ehrenhold, to his descendant the subject of this Memoir, were reckoned twenty-two generations. The dignity of Count of the Holy Roman Empire was conferred on it by the Emperor Leopold in the year 1662. The first member of the family who embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, was John, the second of the name, who died in 1552. Of his descendants, several families remained in the Austrian

"His ecclesiastical functions were those of Bishop, Advocate, Ordinary, and Representative with full powers, of the Church of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, adhering to the Confession of Augsburg.

"The following considerations have induced me to become the biographer of the late Count. For more than thirty years, it was my privilege to live with him in a state of the closest and most cordial intimacy. A gracious Providence so ordered it, that I had occasion not unfrequently to spend half a year at a time in his house, and near his person. I had thus abundant and almost daily opportunities of making myself thoroughly acquainted with his views, the objects to which they were directed, and the means which he employed for their attainment; of scrutinizing the principles and maxims by which his conduct was governed, the tone and temper of his mind, and the nature of his intercourse with persons of all classes and under every variety of circumstances;—in short, of becoming an eye and ear-witness

dominions, and were distinguished by their adherence to the Protestant faith, not less than by their civil and military services. It is a remarkable fact, that Luke Bakmeister, Doctor and Professor of Theology, who in the reign of the Emperor Rudolph II., held a visitation of the churches in Austria, adhering to the Augsburg Confession, found four flourishing Protestant congregations, duly provided with pastors, established on the estates of the Zinzendorf family at Lunz, Carlstetten, Pottendorf, and Orth near Markfeld. The grandfather of the Count, Maximilian Erasmus, emigrated from his native land, and settled at Oberberg, near Nuremberg, esteeming the loss of all his estates more than counterbalanced, by the superior liberty of conscience which he thus obtained. His son, George Lewis, the father of the Count, having removed to Dresden, entered into the service of the Elector of Saxony, and died, as stated in the narrative, in the year 1700. The headship of the family, which fell to the Count in 1756, on the decease of his elder brother, he ceded with all its rights and immunities to his nephew, as soon as the necessary forms could be gone through. The motto of the house of Zinzendorf, derived from Count Albert, the prime minister of the Emperor Leopold, was, "I yield to no one, not even to the whole world." See a Note to a Poem by Count Zinzendorf on his brother Frederick Christian's second marriage, German Poems, No. LXIII. p. 176; in which he makes a striking allusion to this motto. Also Spangenberg's Memoir, p. 11.

of whatever occurred or transpired, in his daily life and conversation. Whenever the nature of my official incumbencies led to our separation from each other, the most confidential correspondence was maintained between us. The communications with which he favoured me at such times, supplied me with the most interesting details of his personal and domestic history, to an extent that I could never have expected from him. Ten years previous to his translation to eternal rest, the commission was given me to collect the numerous accusations made against him and the Brethren's church, out of the various controversial writings of the day, in order that he might have an opportunity of answering them himself; and the execution of this task was the occasion of my obtaining light upon many particulars affecting his person and character, of which I had previously been ignorant, or which I had understood but imperfectly. Hereby I was more than ever convinced of the necessity of writing a memoir of this distinguished man."

The venerable biographer proceeds to explain the principles which he had endeavoured to keep in view, throughout the progress of his work.

"My first and chief object," he observes, "was to write nothing, but what I knew or believed in my conscience to be consistent with truth. I have therefore taken all possible pains, to obtain correct information relative to the facts which I have recorded; and this information I have derived, either from the testimony of my own eyes, or from the verbal or written statements of credible persons, who had been present at the transactions referred to, or else from relations of the Count himself.

"In his intercourse with his brethren, whether public or private, it was his invariable practice to seek to make

them acquainted with his faults and failings, as well as with the good which Divine grace had wrought within him; and in general, it was his wish to appear to every one in his true character. It is owing to this cause, that in his various hymns, discourses, letters, and other writings, both published and unpublished, so many passages are to be met with, having a reference to his own person,* and that these may justly be reckoned among the main sources, whence an authentic history of his life and labours is to be drawn.

"I have further endeavoured to present a faithful portraiture of the views and motives which influenced his conduct, in the various transactions in which he was engaged. The great object which he set before his eyes, in all his discourses and proceedings, is evident:—he was a lover of Jesus, and a friend of man; hereof I am fully convinced; and equally so, that the mind and will of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ were the rule, by which he wished at all times to be guided. Nevertheless, since a variety of reasons may occasionally exist for a particular course of action,—which has often occurred in the history of the Count,—I have been sometimes under the necessity of relating what is probable, rather than what is absolutely certain on this head.

"The third point to which my efforts have been directed in the progress of this Work, is the maintenance of strict impartiality. Notwithstanding my friendship for the deceased, I have endeavoured, through the grace of God, so to write, that the good and the evil, the true and the false, may appear in their genuine colours. Many of

* "In answer to the question, What had induced him to give so many particulars respecting himself and his undertakings? he observed, 'The numberless false reports which have been circulated to my prejudice throughout the world, compel me to say a little on these subjects, yet so little, that nine out of ten of their number are commonly passed over in silence.'"

my brethren will be ready to bear me witness, that on various occasions during the lifetime of the Count, I held an opinion different from his own; and that I made no scruple of stating this difference both to himself and to our fellow-labourers. At the same time, I am well aware, that it must be left to the intelligent reader to decide, in how far I have succeeded in meriting the praise of impartiality."

The author enumerates, in conclusion, the various documentary sources of information to which he had access, in the compilation of his memoir. Among these, the most valuable appear to have been, a number of diaries of early date; a kind of journal kept by the Count during several years of his life; and a large collection of letters, written either by himself or by brethren in attendance upon him;—all which are deposited in the Archives of the Unity. He had also derived much information from the Count's printed works; the written statements of various brethren and friends, concerning particular facts; the private journal of brother David Nitschman, who from the year 1729 was generally near his person;* and the diaries of various congregations and individuals, detailing transactions of greater or less moment in which he had been engaged. Obligations are also expressed to the adversaries of the Count, for the explanations of many circumstances connected with his opinions and proceedings, which their charges against him had tended to elicit, and which had proved of essential service in the compilation of this Memoir.

The preceding paragraphs, derived from Spangenberg's own Preface, explain with sufficient clearness the scope and character of his work, and a portion at least

* The three years, from 1738 to 1741, during which he was engaged in a Mission to Ceylon, form the principal exception.

of the qualifications which he possessed, when, in compliance with the wishes of the Synod of 1764, he undertook to be the biographer of his honoured friend and fellow-servant. An individual more competent to the task, and altogether more worthy to execute it, could certainly not have been selected. With the exception of Zinzendorf himself, no name is more distinguished than that of Spangenberg in the records of the renewed Brethren's church, and none more highly revereneed by its members. He was indeed a man of primitive piety and patriarchal simplicity, of extensive erudition, of unwearied diligence, and of unimpeachable veracity. The soundness and sobriety of his theological views are sufficiently proved by his well-known "Exposition of Christian Doctrine;"* and the variety and extent of his experience, as a labourer in the vineyard of his Master, both at home and abroad, by his valuable Tracts on subjects connected with the Missionary calling; while the annals of the Brethren's Unity, during a period of nearly sixty years, bear abundant testimony to the blessing vouchsafed to his truly apostolic labours.

His memoir of Count Zinzendorf may be described as a plain unvarnished relation of facts, bearing the stamp of truth, and exhibiting the fruits of a judicious and very careful research. It is however to be regretted, that the author has assumed the character rather of the annalist than of the historian; the strictly chronological arrangement which he has chosen, and with few exceptions adhered to, being better adapted to secure the accuracy, than to sustain the interest of his narrative.

* The German Edition, published in 1779, bears the title *Idea Fidei Fratrum:* the English, printed in 1784, with a Preface by the Rev. Benjamin La Trobe, that of *An Exposition of Christian Doctrine, as taught in the Protestant Church of the United Brethren.* Pp. 485. Translations have also appeared in the Danish, Dutch, Swedish and French languages.

His style is unadorned and simple, though not devoid of idiomatic peculiarity. The diffusiveness, with which he handles his subject, can hardly fail to be accounted a defect by the general reader, readily as it will be forgiven by members of the Brethren's church, to whom the circumstantial details of events closely interwoven with the thread of its history will always be instructive. Not the least valuable portion of Spangenberg's work, are the numerous extracts from Zinzendorf's own writings, both printed and manuscript; including his extensive correspondence, and his characteristic hymns and poems. By these, "he is permitted to speak for himself," in reference to a variety of passages in his extraordinary life, to unfold his real views, and to "tell all that was in his heart." The writer of these remarks cannot, therefore, refrain from an expression of regret, that in the process of abridgment to which the translator has had recourse, and by which the contents of the work have been reduced to about one-third of the original bulk, it should have been found necessary to sacrifice so large a proportion of matter, calculated to place in the clearest light the character, opinions, and conduct, both personal and official, of so remarkable a man as Count Zinzendorf.

The question may reasonably be asked, why a work of authority so decided, and of merit so various and so generally acknowledged as that of Spangenberg, has not been earlier presented to the public in an English dress; and further, why the performance of the task should eventually have been left to a comparative stranger to the Brethren's church and its institutions. To these natural inquiries, it is difficult to return a perfectly satisfactory answer. The following remarks may, however, be accepted in apology for the hesitation to publish,

manifested by the Brethren in England, and in explanation of a neglect, which, were it as real as it is apparent, would certainly be inexcusable.

The first two parts of Spangenberg's Memoir issued from the press in the year 1772; the eighth, or concluding one, in 1775. A few years after, there appeared an English translation of the first volume, comprising the above-mentioned two parts, with a promise of a continuation, in the event of the work meeting with the desired encouragement. This encouragement being, however, from some cause or other withheld, the idea of proceeding with the publication was gradually abandoned. Meanwhile the press of Germany continued to bring forth books and pamphlets, illustrative of Zinzendorf's private and public history;* and the hope was hereby revived, that a memoir of his life and services, at once comprehensive, luminous, and faithful, would in due season make its appearance. The disappointment of this expectation continues to be a subject of unfeigned regret with the English section of the Moravian church; and may serve to account, in some measure, for the reluctance hitherto shown by its leading members, to originate, or directly to sanction, a compilation like that now given to the public.

Contemporary biography has its peculiar charms; and it must be confessed, that he who devotes himself to it, possesses advantages for the delineation of individual character, and the record of particular incidents,

* Among these may be particularly noticed, Characteristics of Count Zinzendorf, by Charles Lewis Baron Schrautenbach; a Sketch of his Life, by Rev. J. Chr. Duvernoy; a Memoir, by Rev. C. R. Reichel; Count Lynar's Account of the Brethren's Unity, in Büsching's Magazine, Vol. XIII.; and a brief but highly interesting portrait of his character, writings, and labours, in a work published in 1795, by J. G. Müller, under the title of "Bekenntnisse merkwürdiger Männer von sich selbst." (*Confessions of Remarkable Men, respecting themselves.*) The two writers first mentioned were members of the Brethren's church.

which are denied to the historian of a subsequent age. But it is not less obvious, that the latter, if his natural abilities are equal to the task, and his materials for its performance are copious and well selected,—among which materials, the researches of contemporary authors naturally hold a prominent place,—is in circumstances more favourable to the exhibition of the qualities which characterise a great and philosophic historian. It is thus with an edifice of symmetrical form and imposing dimensions. Though a near view may be necessary to give the spectator an accurate idea of its architectural details and minuter ornaments, it is only from a moderate and well-chosen distance, that its true proportions, and its graceful and noble outline can be discerned and appreciated. The greater and more majestic the object, the more needful is it to ascertain the point of sight, which best accords with its true character, and with the state of the surrounding atmosphere. There are probably not many individuals, to whom the foregoing remarks are more strictly applicable than the subject of this Memoir.

Count Zinzendorf was undoubtedly one of the most extraordinary personages, that have appeared in the church of Christ since the period of the Reformation. Few men have been the object of more sincere and more affectionate admiration; few, exposed to greater and more cruel obloquy. In his own country, by turns honoured and despised, caressed and persecuted; at one time admitted to the friendship of sovereign princes, at another exiled from his native land, and deprived of the rights and privileges of the meanest citizen,—he was enabled to pursue his course unmoved, and to demean himself as the humble and devoted servant of that Master, who has declared, that his kingdom is not of this world. The justice which was so often denied him by his countrymen during his life, they have

willingly rendered him since his death; and even the fame which he sought not, has been conceded to him, to a greater extent than would have been agreeable to his own feelings, or than is consistent with the views and character of the church, to whose service he was so disinterestly attached. By the worldly-wise, he has been acknowledged as a man of original genius and extensive acquirements; by evangelical divines, as a sound, though occasionally eccentric theologian;* by children of God of every denomination, as a single-minded and faithful servant of Christ, whose witness of the truth as it is in Jesus was blessed to thousands, both within and without the pale of his own communion, and who by his example, as well as by his testimony, was made instrumental in arousing into action the slumbering energies of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, and directing them into the numerous channels, in which they are now exerted for the dissemination of the gospel, both in Christendom and in heathen lands. The vehement accusations and shameless calumnies against the Count and his brethren, with which the press of Germany at one period teemed, have sunk with their authors into merited oblivion;

* Of the christian and friendly spirit, in which subjects connected with the controversies of a former age are handled at the present day, by divines of the Protestant churches on the continent, a favourable specimen has just been given to the English public, in the Memoir of the Life and Writings of J. Albert Bengel, by Rev. J. C. F. Burk,—a work of the highest interest, and deserving an extensive circulation and diligent perusal. It is well known, that Count Zinzendorf always cherished the sincerest esteem for this luminary of the Wirtemberg church, whom he considered one of the most candid and able of his numerous opponents. See p. 346. The strictures of Bengel were not, however, in every instance well founded. "The author had never visited a congregation of the Brethren; hence false notions and misapprehensions were unavoidable; and it must be confessed, even by the admirers of this excellent man, that he had understood many declarations of the Count in too confined a sense, and confuted them but superficially."—See *Müller's Bekenntnisse merkwürdiger Männer, von sich selbst:* 3 Band. p. 234.

ıor would any modern writer of reputation, think it ;ither desirable or becoming to exhibit them again to ɔublic view.* In England, on the other hand, the cha-'acter, writings, and labours of Count Zinzendorf, have ɔeen comparatively but little known,—a sullen calm ıaving succeeded to the mingled storm and sunshine, which attended his sojourn in this country, and continued :o mark his connexion with it. For a result so little ınticipated at the time, either by his friends or his ene-nies, various reasons might be assigned, but it may be sufficient here to mention two. The first is, the want of ıcquaintance with the German language, (in which, with few exceptions, the Count preached and wrote,) which has prevailed in England up to a very recent date. The second is, the indisposition shown by the Brethren, as a body, to prolong the controversy, occasioned by the malicious slanders of Rimius and Andrew Frey, and the railings of their patron Lavington, the systematic traducer of evangelical religion, as exhibited in the doctrinal teaching and labours of Whitefield and Wesley,† as well as of

* On the subject of the numerous controversial publications which appeared in Germany between the years 1726 and 1752, and which were directed against Count Zinzendorf, or the Brethren generally, Crantz has some candid and pertinent remarks, in his well-known History of the Brethren's Church, p. 161.

† It is painful to reflect, that even these distinguished servants of God were so far misled by the slanderous charges against Count Zinzendorf and the Brethren, at this period so confidently preferred and so generally believed, that they joined the ranks of their accusers. The effect on the credit and good name of the Brethren was deeply felt; but the wrong done was soon forgiven, and would ere this time have been forgotten, had not circumstances, beyond the control of the injured party, tended to keep alive the remembrance of it. Can any real advantage attend the revival of these accusations at the present day? The writer presumes to think not; and he has therefore perused, with unfeigned regret, a chapter in the recently published Memoir of the Life and Times of Whitefield, treating of the breach between that eminent man and the London Moravians. He would ask the respected author of that very interesting work, if it was really worth while, for the sake of rendering Mr. Whitefield's "personal history complete," and "supplying a *slight* fea-

Zinzendorf and his Moravian coadjutors. Under the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed, the

ture in the true character of his times," to bring forward statements which, uncontradicted or unexplained, could scarcely fail to inflict a *severe* injury on an unoffending community, by holding up to ridicule and to reprobation not a few of its most honoured servants in a former age? Is Mr. Philip aware, that the leading topics of Mr. Whitefield's very unjustifiable letter to Count Zinzendorf, received a distinct answer from the pen of Mr. Hutton, the Secretary of the Brethren's Unity in England? Probably not; or else he would hardly have contented himself with giving to the public only one side of the *controversy*, which he states Mr. Whitefield to have had with the Moravians. Towards the other opponents of that excellent, though not infallible man, he has shown a very commendable measure of candour. But to notice a few features of Mr. W.'s indictment. The charge brought against the Count, that he had permitted incense to be offered to him by his Brethren, must excite a smile in any one acquainted with the German custom, of perfuming a house or a place of worship, on occasion of a domestic or a church-festival. Had fir-trees been as plentiful in the neighbourhood of London as in that of Herrnhut, it is more than probable that the floors and passages might have been strewed with needles of fir on the occasions referred to, in conformity with another festive practice. The musical celebration of the great event of the resurrection of Christ, is surely not deserving of the censure passed upon it. The trumpets used on the occasion gave no uncertain sound. The strains which they breathed forth, were expressive of gratitude and praise for the finished work of redemption, and of triumphant joy in the assured hope of a glorious resurrection. It ought however to be stated, that the most important portion of the ceremonial of Easter-morning, in those early times as at present, was the praying in fellowship of a solemn litany, containing a confession of faith, to which divines of other communions have not scrupled to assign a high rank among compositions of this class. The childish or unbecoming practices which Mr. Whitefield describes, on the authority of persons who probably did not spare exaggeration, were neither introduced nor patronized by Count Zinzendorf; neither were they sanctioned by the majority of his fellow-servants, infectious as was the spirit of extravagance which, as is well known, prevailed in many of the Brethren's congregations at the period referred to, though happily only for a short season. As to the celebration of Anna Nitschman's birthday, of which so ludicrous an account is given, Mr. Hutton positively states, that so far was that excellent and very remarkable person from approving it, that she resented it highly, and from that very day, avoided both the place and the individuals associated in her mind with the remembrance of such improprieties. The story of Bishop Boehler and Mr. William Bell, which rests on the authority of an acquaintance, who had heard it from a person of good reputation, to whom Mr. Bell himself had told it, is declared to be incorrect in a very essential particular; it being untrue that a bishop of the Brethren's church had

Brethren felt that silence best became them. They had already humbled themselves before the Lord for the

made use of any such puerile and objectionable expedient as that described. But graver charges remain behind. Count Zinzendorf is accused of tyrannizing over the consciences and the property of his brethren. The accusation is unfounded. Not only does it rest on no sufficient authority, but it is refuted by the whole tenor of his character and all the transactions of his life. That Mr. W. should have allowed himself to publish such statements as his letter contains, on the subject of the Brethren's pecuniary transactions—and *that* at a period of great financial embarrassment and distress—must excite sorrowful surprise. Their bearing upon the character of the Count for common honesty, and on the credit and solvency of the persons with whom he was connected, and for many of whom he had made himself personally responsible, is so obvious, that it is no wonder that he was importuned by Lord Granville and others, who were satisfied of the falsehood of the charges, to prosecute the author for an injurious libel.* His reply to these importunities did him the highest honour.† He declined to seek the justification of himself and his brethren, by an appeal either to a court of law, or to the tribunal of public opinion; he preferred to show the groundlessness of the charges against him, by caring for the honourable fulfilment of all the engagements contracted. No families were ruined; no debts were left unpaid; no extortion was practised, (the story about Mr. Rhodes turned out, like fifty others of the same kind, to be a mere fabrication;) in short, the Brethren were enabled,—to quote an expression from their own Church-Litany,—"To conduct all things in such a manner, that they provided for honest things, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men." (2 Cor. viii. 21.) ‡

At the close of the chapter which has called forth the preceding remarks, Mr. Whitefield's biographer has fallen into a serious anachronism. He observes, "This controversy had one effect which Whitefield did not expect, nor can I fully explain: it led Cennick to quit him, and go over to the Moravians: a proof, however, that the Moravians, as a body, were not perverted by their leaders." Had the circumstance been as here stated, ought not both Mr. W. and his biographer rather to have drawn the inference from it, that neither the Moravians nor their leaders were justly chargeable with the offences imputed to them? Had they been really guilty, how could a man like Cennick have joined their fellowship, and continued in union with them till the day of his death? The fact, how-

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* See p. 230.

† See Crantz' History of the Brethren, p. 418, Editor's Note.

‡ See An Exposition, or True State of the Matters objected in England to the People known by the Name of *Unitas Fratrum*. By the Ordinary of the Brethren. With Notes and Additions by the Editor. (James Hutton). 1755.

faults they had committed, whether as individuals or as a community; they had acknowledged the extravagancies, both in doctrine and practice, with which for a season they were justly chargeable; and had taken the needful measures, especially at the Synod held at Herrnhut in 1751, and in London in 1753, to repress and eradicate the abuses complained of;—all which measures had received

ever, happens to be, that Cennick, who had become acquainted with the Brethren in 1741, united himself formally to their church in 1745, and two years after, attended the Synod held at Herrnhaag, as one of its ministering servants. As early as 1746, he made the commencement of those blessed labours in the north of Ireland,* which entitle him to be considered as the evangelist of that long-neglected portion of the empire, and which led to the establishment there of a number of societies and congregations in connexion with the Brethren's church. At the time of the publication of Mr. Whitefield's letter, in 1753, Mr. C. was therefore a distinguished minister of the calumniated fraternity,—one of the very leaders by whom the Moravian body were in danger of being perverted. About two years after, viz. on the 4th of July, 1755, he was translated to eternal rest.† In so far as Mr. Whitefield's letter contributed to the cure of any "fopperies and faults," which could fairly be laid to the charge of the Moravians of that day, it behoves the Brethren of the present, to reflect upon it with thankfulness rather than with displeasure. As a remedy for the graver maladies which it professed to expose, it would have proved totally inefficient. Such moral and social offences, had they been actually committed, would have required a public apology, and a public expiation.

That "the vagaries of the Moravians in London at the period referred to gradually alienated from them the regard of their early friends," is a statement which has often been made, but which appears to be unsupported by any sufficient evidence. When it is considered, what calumnies were in general circulation against them, it is perhaps surprising, that the prejudice excited was not more serious and more enduring. Neither Dr. Watts nor Dr. Doddridge knew much of the Brethren from personal intercourse; Archbishop Potter and Bishop Sherlock knew more, and there is every reason to believe, retained their friendly feeling for them, notwithstanding the charges which were falsely brought against them, and the follies into which, at one period, they were really drawn. In 1749, an act of parliament was passed in their favour, after full examinations by Committees of both Houses, and with the general concurrence of the Episcopal

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* In conjunction with the grandfather of the writer, who had been instrumental in bringing him to Ireland.

† See Memoir, by Rev. Matt. Wilks, prefixed to his edition of Cennick's Village Discourses, Vol. I. p. 135.

the full concurrence and energetic cooperation of the Count. They could therefore the more confidently cast their burden on the Lord, and believe, that he would defend them against the unjust charges of licentiousness, heresy, superstition, disloyalty, and dishonourable dealing, with which they were so cruelly assailed. And the event has proved that they were not mistaken. Their spiritual descendants may however be permitted to regret, that the fair name which the Brethren's church has gradually acquired, and the regard and good-will which have of late been so generously conceded to it by Christians of other denominations, in so far as these are the reward of silent endurance of calumny, have been purchased, in some measure, at the expense of the character and reputation of the man, to whom, of all others, that church is most deeply indebted.

In connexion with a subject of so much importance to the Brethren's Unity, and of no mean interest to the church of Christ in general,—the following two passages are submitted to the consideration of the candid reader. The first is from the pen of J. G. Müller, a

Bench. This was the year after Dr. Watts's death, and scarcely two years before that of Doddridge. In 1754, only a few months before Count Zinzendorf finally quitted England, the Bishop of London sent him a copy of his published sermons, accompanied by a most friendly letter, in which he testified his attachment to the doctrine of Christ crucified, a doctrine which he well knew to be the sum and substance of the Count's theology. See p. 389.

In concluding these observations, which have been penned under feelings of concern rather than of displeasure, the writer will only express the conviction of his own mind, that it behoves the members of the Moravian church at this day, to embrace every suitable opportunity of publicly acknowledging the blessings derived to them from the doctrine, the example, and the institutions bequeathed to them by their spiritual ancestors; and while they profit so largely, and in so many ways, by the reputation of the latter for love to Christ and unwearied and self-denying zeal in his cause, to show themselves willing, if need be, to share in their reproach.

German literary writer of celebrity, the brother of the philosophic historian of Switzerland.

" The life of Count Zinzendorf," he observes, " had a remarkable, I could almost say, a dramatic character. His early years passed in peaceful retirement, but his dawning abilities warranted great expectations. The favourite hopes and projects, which he had formed in youth, he was indeed compelled to sacrifice, from the time of his return from travel, and his entrance into the service of the Court; Providence appearing to have marked out for him a path, quite different from that which he had chosen for himself. But at the very period when he had become, as it were, dead to these darling schemes, and had limited his views to the service of a village congregation, in the capacity of a subordinate teacher, it pleased God to lead him, unobserved, to the great object of his wishes; to prepare for him a sphere of activity, sufficiently ample to satisfy the longings of his ardent spirit; and to launch him at once into his proper element. The storm soon gathered around him, and sorely it raged. Banished from his native land, pursued by calumny, scorned by those from whom he might have expected the most support; he wandered through the world, like a pilgrim, exposed to a thousand perils and distresses, and compelled to surrender every thing that might have added lustre to his name. Nothing remained to him but his character; with this he prevailed. At the very period when all men seemed to have conspired against him; when new monsters started up each day to assail him, in the shape of revolting and scarcely credible accusations; when property and credit were alike gone; when none appeared any longer to spare him, but even good and pious men treated him as at best a well-meaning fanatic; when at length there sprung up, in the midst of his own church, a noxious

weed, which threatened to choke the good seed; when the stream of error set so strongly towards himself, as almost to carry him into its vortex;—at that very time there commenced a better era for himself and his congregation. The floor of the church was purged by a sharp sifting, during the progress of which, the Count acted the manly part of admitting the error into which he himself had fallen; his enemies began to lose credit by the very extravagance of their charges against him; the personal examinations, which reasonable inquirers were hereby led to institute, turned out to the advantage of the slandered community; the princes, who were already learning to decide questions of this kind by the rules of finance, discovered the benefit which its institutions conferred on their respective territories; the decree for the Count's exile was revoked, and the plant which was before deemed fit only for destruction, was now encouraged and fostered. Soon after the publication of the Count's final apology in the year 1752, the attacks of his adversaries abated in virulence—perhaps, also, because the temporal power was found to be no longer warring on their side. From his own character, time and experience had worn away many sharp edges, and in proportion as he gained in inward strength and unshaken firmness, did he appear to grow in gentleness and meekness. His last discourses are pervaded by a far milder, more dispassionate, and cordial tone, than those of an earlier date; and on all is this truth impressed as with a seal, 'I know whom I have believed.' He lived to see,—what few like him have been permitted to behold, during their tenure of office,—his church valued and protected, and her members dwelling together in peace and unity, and regarding him with the affection due to a father. He saw,—to quote the words pronounced over his grave by the friend of his heart, Von

Watteville,—' the Brethren's Unity rise into renewed existence, grow up, become verdant and flourishing—he rejoiced over its prosperity, and laid himself down to rest with thanksgiving and praise.' A happy lot, truly, and one which made ample amends for many previous trials."*

The Editor of the English translation of Spangenberg's "Exposition of Christian Doctrine," a fellow-servant and intimate friend of the Count, makes the following statement in his Preface to that work:

"Count Zinzendorf, whom the Brethren and candid observers look upon as the instrument in the hand of God to restore the ancient and to build up the renewed church of the Brethren, and by them to propagate the gospel among Christians and heathen, was not an ordinary character. He was a nobleman of high rank and education, of an enlarged mind and a generous heart. He did not bind himself to the trammels of scholastic divinty; but the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were his standard of truth, and from thence he sought for knowledge; and indeed he was so conversant with them, that the Bible was written in his memory, and on the table of his heart. But he was a man, and of course liable to mistakes. Having an open and generous mind, and being conversant with various sincere persons and sects in Christendom, he sought for the truth, though more or less covered with rubbish in each, and was frequently led, either in sentiment or expression, to adopt, for a season, the manner of utterance used by the party with whom he was at that time engaged: in him this arose from a love to truth and to his fellow-creatures. Good as his views were, this practice exposed him, and the congregations he served, to much censure and severe reproaches.

* Müller's Bekenntnisse merkwürdiger Männer von sich selbst. 3 Band. p. 257.

He commonly delivered two or three discourses in a day, either publicly or to his family, which was generally large, and what he then uttered was attended with a striking effect upon those who heard him. He spoke in the strictest sense extempore; and according to the state of the times in which, and the persons to whom, he spoke. These discourses were commonly taken down as he uttered them, and the love and admiration of his brethren were so great, that they urged their publication. His avocations were such, that he did not spend sufficient time in the revision: some were not at all revised by him; and some very incorrectly and falsely printed. Hence doctrines, of which he never thought, were deduced from his writings, and some of his transient private opinions laid to the charge of the whole Brethren's church. I do not, and cannot, attempt to defend such publications, but relate the real state of the case.

"The Count was so convinced of the impropriety of the above proceedings, that he requested the reverend author of this exposition, to extract all the accusations of his antagonists, and the adversaries of the Brethren, and lay them before him.* It was done; he answered all: and the charges, and his answers, were published in Germany, in the years 1751 and 1752. He, finding positions in the writings under his name which he could

* In the execution of this unpleasing and laborious task, Spangenberg displayed his wonted diligence, faithfulness, and impartiality. The charges thus extracted were submitted to the consideration of the Count, the names of the authors being, by his own express desire, concealed from him:—a procedure for which he assigned a reason, not less creditable to his wisdom than to his magnanimity. He knew that among the number of his adversaries were many individuals eminent in character and station in the church of Christ, and not a few, with whom he had been united in the bonds of friendship:—and he was unwilling that the respect which was due to the former, and the affection which he still cherished for the latter, should be impaired by a minute acquaintance with the harsh censures, or unjust accusations, which they had directed against him.

not avow, declared in the public papers, that he could not acknowledge any books which had been published in his name, unless they were revised and corrected in a new edition by himself. He began this work in German; but the Lord took him to himself before he could go through many books.

"True it is, that at a certain time, particularly between 1747 and 1753, many of the Brethren, in their public discourses, and in the hymns which were published about that period, used expressions which were indefensible: the Count himself laboured to correct both the theory and language; and he was successful, and they are no more in use among the Brethren. The Brethren's congregations do not take the writings of the Count, or of any man, as their standard of doctrine; the Bible alone is their standard of truth, and they agree with the Augustan or Augsburg Confession, as being conformable to it." *

At the conclusion of a pamphlet, written in English by Count Zinzendorf himself, and published in 1755, the year of his final departure from this country, there is the following brief portraiture of his own character and principles, and the end of his conversation.

"I am a very happy man, as many thousand people see, hear, or read: but I am not a light or a gay man.

"I have no business but to please my Creator,† obey his Spirit, serve his creatures, and adore the Father whom He adores.

* Pp. iv—vii. Such is the testimony of the Rev. Benjamin La Trobe, a man who had ample means of knowing the truth of what he ventured to assert, and the orthodoxy of whose sentiments, not less than the excellence of his character and the abundance of his ministerial labours, procured him the friendship of individuals of every rank in life and of every religious denomination.

† Eph. iii. 9. Col. i. 16.

"I teach grace, humility, heartiness,* joy, simplicity, and steadiness.

"I oppose and war against all selfishness, that abominable idol; and all its brood and consequences, haughtiness, indifference, gloominess, pedantry, and changeableness.

"It was no self-denial to my Saviour, nor any mortification, to lead a holy life in this world, and to do good deeds. When he, dying for us, abolished our guilt and pain, he obtained for all partakers of his merits, the privilege to sin no more, and to live in this world as he would have lived himself, had he lived in our station and times. So I also scorn heartily the doing good, by way of self-denial and mortification.†

"I am pleased most heartily with the task others call duty. It is my daily food; it is a princely entertainment for me."‡

To some, this declaration may sound extravagant, while others may denounce it as vain-glorious. But surely, the disposition of heart which it pourtrays, is none other than should be desired by every true follower of the Saviour; of Him, who could declare, "My meat is to do the will of Him that sent me, and to finish his work."

Of Count Zinzendorf, it may be affirmed without

* The German word *Herzlichkeit*, of which this is intended to be an English synonyme, appears to signify both tenderness and strength of feeling.

† This passage may serve to explain an expression which the Count is reported to have used in his well-known Latin conversation with Wesley, and which certainly sounds rather startling:—"Abnegationem omnem respuimus, conculcamus. Mortificationem ridemus."—*Southey's Life of Wesley*, Vol. I. Note xxxvii. The Count's whole life testifies, that he practised abundantly and continually what others called self-denial; but the ruling principle in his heart, love to Christ and to his brethren, rendered every sacrifice which he made both easy and pleasant.

‡ Are not these feelings embodied in the concluding line of Dr. Doddridge's admired epigram on his family motto, *Dum vivimus, vivamus*,—"I live in pleasure while I live to Thee!"

hesitation, that his practice was herein conformable to his doctrine. Love to his Redeemer was his ruling principle,—his passion, in the strictest sense of the term;* and to serve the people of God, the church purchased with the blood of Christ, he accounted his greatest privilege. Of the character and the result of his ministrations, as well as of the leading events of his life, some idea may be formed from a perusal of the following pages. They will bear an authentic, even though an imperfect testimony, to his exemplary conduct, as a husband† and a father; as a son and a brother; as the master of a household, and as the minister of a flock of Christ. They will afford satisfactory evidence of the liveliness of his faith, the purity of his life, his unbounded benevolence, his entire disinterestedness, his readiness to humble himself,‡ his forgiving and forbearing disposition, his unwearied diligence, and his steadfast perseverance. In fine, they will testify of the grace of God which was in him, and prove that he had not received that grace in vain.

"Several pages would be required to insert only the titles of his publications. Including his smaller pieces and periodical works, and those for which he furnished the chief materials, although they do not bear his name,

* "I have a passion," he observed in one of his discourses to the congregation at Herrnhut, "and it is He,—He only."

† It would be difficult to find a more beautiful or striking passage in his writings, than the character which he has drawn of his Countess, and the testimony which he has borne to her christian virtues and admirable qualifications as wife and mother, and as fellow-labourer with him in the vineyard of the Lord. And yet even from this fair and fragrant flower, one of his revilers has found the means of extracting some poison, in which to steep the point of his calumnious shaft.

‡ His conduct at the Synod of Gotha, in 1740, and at that held in London, in 1753, afforded fine examples of this rare christian grace. See pp. 275, 426.

they amount to upwards of a hundred. With the exception of a few smaller Tracts in Latin, French, and English, they are written in the German language. Some of them were elicited by the controversy respecting himself and the Brethren's churches, which at a certain period was very hotly maintained; but the greater portion are theological, consisting of Sermons, Essays, and Hymns. His claims as an author will be differently estimated according to the opinions and tastes of his readers. But no competent judge will deny, that his writings display much original genius, great depth of thought, sound learning, correct scriptural views on every essential article of Christianity, and a mind deeply impressed with Divine truth, and ardently desirous of imparting that truth to others. The liveliness of his imagination, and the rapidity with which his ideas succeeded each other, gave, in some instances, an air of singularity and even of extravagance to some of his sentiments, which rendered him liable to be misunderstood, and subjected him to animadversions. Yet he was always ready to correct whatever was proved to him to be justly objectionable, either in the subject or the language." * He maintained,—and the maxim is well deserving of being recorded,—" that the smallest truth is more precious than the reputation of the greatest teacher."

His style and diction were peculiarly his own; his ordinary German was anything but pure, being intermixed with a host of words and phrases derived from the French, English, Latin, and other tongues. " Yet, notwithstanding this extraordinary feature, I must confess," observes Müller, " that his language, on the whole,

* The above testimony is extracted from the History of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren, by Rev. J. Holmes. Vol. I. p. 427. To the same work, the reader may be referred for much interesting information, relative to the life and times of Count Zinzendorf.

pleases me exceedingly. It is colloquial in a high degree, but corresponds as closely to his thoughts, as a moistened cloth does to the form of the human body, so that it is difficult to say how the same ideas could be otherwise expressed,—the chief characteristic, in my opinion, of a good style. The more original the conceptions, the more unusual will be the phraseology. Whatever he writes, springs, or rather bubbles up from the fountain of his feelings. In the least considerable of his treatises, the individuality of the writer is exposed to view; and there is not one of his literary productions, which does not exhibit traces, more or less obvious, of genius and originality. Whenever he professes to write pure German, he writes admirably, according to the judgment of modern critics." *

As a hymnologist, he claims a distinguished rank, even in Germany,—the land, in which, since the days of Luther, this department of sacred song has been so extensively and so successfully cultivated; and which has produced a Paul Gerhard, a Freylinghausen, a Gellert, and a Klopstock. He was indeed "the master-singer" of the renewed Brethren's church; and his labours in this branch of the temple-service have mainly contributed to impress upon her Psalmody and Liturgy the peculiar character which they exhibit, and which, it is fervently hoped, they may long retain. Of the Hymns which he composed at various periods, between the years 1720 and 1760, not fewer than 540 are to be found in the Hymn-Book, at present in use in the German congregations of the Brethren.† They are, as might be expected, of unequal merit, but many of their number

* Müller's Bekenntnisse, &c. pp. 3, 4.

† The same collection also contains forty hymns by Countess Zinzendorf, and sixty by the young Count Christian Renatus, who departed in London, in 1752.

are pervaded by the spirit of genuine poetry, while a yet greater proportion are characterized by originality of thought, as well as by fervour of devotion and vigour of expression.* So fertile was his genius, and so ready his

* The reader of this volume may perhaps be surprised to learn, that the beautiful hymn, "Jesus thy blood and righteousness," which has found its way into so many collections, is a composition of Count Zinzendorf. (See p. 261.) The generally received translation of this hymn (or rather translated portion, the original being of great length,) is from the pen of Mr. Wesley, or his brother Charles, to both of whom the church of Christ is under real obligation, for their admirable versions of a number of excellent German hymns of the 17th and 18th centuries. This debt, the Moravian brethren are forward to acknowledge; nor is their sense of gratitude at all affected by the consideration, that it was at the brilliant flame of German psalmody, that these distinguished hymnologists appear to have kindled their own poetic torch. Whatever benefit the Wesleys derived from this source, it must be confessed they amply repaid to the religious community, which had been the channel of imparting it. Nothing therefore is farther from the thoughts of the English Brethren of the present day, than the denial of the advantage thus reflected back upon them,—except it be the disposition to appropriate to members of their own church a merit which is properly due to those of another. Such being the case, they cannot wonder, that, in a note on p. 322 of his interesting Life of Wesley, Mr. Watson should have vindicated the claims of the two brothers to a number of excellent translated hymns, which are inadvertently marked Moravian, in the Index to Montgomery's Christian Psalmist. It is indeed true, as Mr. Watson observes, that the majority of the hymns alluded to have not even a Moravian original, and that the translations of them are due to the Wesleys, either as original composers, or remodellers of former defective versions. Whether the fine hymn, "High on his everlasting throne," which is admitted to be a genuine Moravian production, (having been composed by Spangenberg, and presented to Count Zinzendorf on his birth-day, in the year 1734,) was translated by one of the Wesleys, or by Gambold, may admit of question. There can, however, be no doubt, that the author of the Tragedy of Ignatius, and of a number of hymns in the Brethren's Collection, of the very highest merit, was fully equal to the task. While the mention of the venerable name of Gambold is of itself sufficient to prove the assertion — "that the Moravians," at the period referred to, "had no translator into English verse at all comparable to the Wesleys"—to be somewhat deficient in correctness,—it must ever be a subject of regret that this learned and excellent man was induced, at an important period of his life, to hold in abeyance his great poetic talents, and to become the versifier of ideas and expressions, which it would have been far better to leave in their native obscurity. Mr. Watson's able remarks on English

power of versification, that he not unfrequently composed and gave out extemporaneous hymns, which were sung by "the church in his house," or by the congregation assembled on festal occasions. In 1735, he was prevailed upon to publish a collection of German poems. Of this work, a reprint appeared in 1766, though without the two additional volumes, of which some expectation was held out in the original Preface. The contents proved him to be a poet of no common order; yet they failed, during the lifetime of the author, to receive that applause, which a succeeding, more imaginative, though probably more unchristian age, was willing to bestow, in spite of the distastefulness of the subject. His poetical talent was consecrated, as were all his other gifts, to the service of one Lord and Master; the compositions of his childhood, his youth, and his riper years, breathe the same spirit of attachment to the person of his Saviour, the same aspirations after an increasing conformity to the Divine image, the same ardent desire to proclaim, both within and without the borders of the church, that blessed and eternal truth, which was at once the foundation of his doctrine, the secret spring of all his activity and usefulness, and the never-failing source of his peace and his joy, his comfort in life, and his hope in death.

His testimony to this truth is briefly but emphati-

Hymnology, can hardly fail to gratify and instruct his readers, the majority of whom will probably be disposed to agree with him, and with the editor of The Christian Psalmist, in awarding the pre-eminence in this department of poetry to Charles Wesley. Is it too late to express a hope, that the task of furnishing translations of the choicest German hymns, so ably commenced, but so soon relinquished by the Wesleys, and their contemporary Gambold, may be resumed and brought to a successful issue by one, whom the Brethren's church has the privilege of numbering among her members, and who may justly be considered the first hymn-writer of the present day? A selection of the sacred strains of Paul Gerhard and Zinzendorf, clothed in English verse by James Montgomery, would indeed be a valuable present to the British church, as well as to the Unity of the Brethren.

cally delivered in the following sentence, than which he would probably have desired no other epitaph:

"Here is one, who knows nothing more, than that his Creator is his Saviour."*

The grave of Count Zinzendorf is situated near the centre of the large and beautiful burial-ground attached to the settlement of Herrnhut. It is covered by a raised tomb-stone, of plain but substantial workmanship, and bears the following inscription:

"Here rest the mortal remains of the ever-memorable man of God, Nicholas Lewis, Count of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, the most worthy Ordinary of the Brethren's Unity, renewed in the eighteenth century, through the grace of God and his faithful and unwearied services. He was born at Dresden on the 26th May, 1700, and entered into the joy of his Lord on the 9th May, 1760. 'He was ordained that he should bring forth fruit, and that his fruit should remain.'" †

In concluding these prefatory remarks, the writer thinks it needful to state, that he is answerable neither for the publication of the present work, nor for the manner in which it is executed. Whatever merit it may

* Jung's Parallel between Luther and Zinzendorf, p. 36, of which work some account is given on p. 415.

† Count Zinzendorf left behind him three daughters, the only survivors of a family of twelve children (six sons and as many daughters), most of whom departed in infancy. The eldest, Henrietta Benigna Justina, became the consort of Baron John de Watteville; the second, Maria Agnes, of Maurice Count Dohna; the third, Elizabeth, of Baron Frederick de Watteville. By the two alliances last mentioned, the Count has no surviving descendant; the only son of Count Dohna, Henry Lewis, having died without issue, in 1833. To Baron John de Watteville and his lady were born two sons and two daughters: the sons died unmarried; the elder of the daughters, Anna Dorothy Elizabeth, was married to Hans Christian Alexander von Schweinitz; the younger, Maria Justina, to Henry the 55th Count Reuss, of the house of Köstritz. By these marriages, there are now living four great-grandchildren of Count Zinzendorf.

possess, as an English abridgment of Spangenberg's extensive Memoir, belongs exclusively to the translator; whose labours, in this department of literature, the public has had sufficient opportunities of appreciating. On his own behalf, he may be permitted to add, that the application for an Introductory Preface, having been made to him very unexpectedly, found him but ill-prepared for the performance of the task proposed, owing to the pressure of multiplied engagements. He is deeply sensible of the disadvantages under which he has been labouring, and is therefore the more anxious to disclaim the idea, that any official character attaches to his very imperfect essay. The sentiments he has ventured to express, are given to the public, neither in the name nor by the authority of the Brethren's church; at the same time he indulges the hope, that they are such as the majority of his fellow-servants would not be inclined to disapprove. Having been informed that a Memoir of Count Zinzendorf was actually in the press, he felt ashamed to decline assisting to introduce to the English public, the most distinguished servant of his own church in modern times; a man, whom he has been taught from his earliest years to regard with sincere veneration, and to whose nobility of character, holiness of life, and abundance of labour in the vineyard of his Lord and Master, a revered grandfather, and a dear and honoured parent, accounted it a privilege to bear their grateful and admiring testimony.*

* "I should think myself highly favoured, at a proper time and in a satisfactory manner, to contribute to rescue the memory of so excellent a man as Count Zinzendorf from the unmerited obloquy which has been cast on him by base and wicked enemies, and too often repeated by persons misguided or misinformed. The apologies made for various expressions in his writings which appear eccentric or even incorrect, seem to have satisfied most objectors on the continent, but in England have not as yet been much attended to."—*Journal of a Visit to South Africa, in* 1815-16, *by Rev. C. I. La Trobe*, p. 9. 4to. Ed.

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CHAPTER VII.

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THE LIFE

OF

NICHOLAS COUNT ZINZENDORF.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH, PARENTAGE, AND CHILDHOOD—ELEMENTARY STUDIES—ACADEMICAL COURSE—JOURNEY TO HOLLAND—RESIDENCE IN PARIS—ACQUAINTANCE WITH CARDINAL DE NOAILLES—MARKS of DISTINCTION—RETURN TO GERMANY—OFFER OF MARRIAGE—RETRACTS IN FAVOUR OF COUNT REUSS—TRAVELS TO BERLIN—EXPIRATION OF HIS MINORITY.

Nicholas Louis, Count and Lord of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, was born at Dresden, on the 26th May, 1700. The sponsors at his baptism were the Electoral Princesses of Saxony and the Palatinate, and the Rev. Dr. Spener. He considered it as an unmerited mercy, that he was born and baptized in the Lutheran church, and in the sequel frequently mentioned his baptism with feelings of gratitude. His father, George Louis, Count Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, was one of the premier ministers at the court of Saxony, and spent his short life in a laudable manner, engaged in the important duties of his office. His heart was devoted to Jesus Christ, his Lord and Saviour, and he therefore loved his servants also. In particular, he was much attached to Dr. Spener, who laboured so successfully for the renovation of the true spirit of Christianity in the Lutheran church. His mother, Charlotte Justina, Baroness of Gersdorf, was born in the year 1675. She was a learned and pious lady, and was the Count's second wife.

But the happiness of the family was soon interrupted by the premature death of the Count, which occurred only six weeks after the birth of his son Nicholas, leaving behind him, beside the latter, a son and daughter from the first marriage. His widow then removed with her infant son to her parents' house, and, four years afterwards, married a field-marshal in the Prussian army. From that time, the young Count seldom saw his mother; having been placed, until the tenth year of his age, under the care of his grandmother, who early instilled into his tender mind the doctrines and precepts of the gospel, with much kindness and wisdom. Having daily opportunity also of associating with other pious individuals who visited her, as well as of hearing or reading something out of the Bible and other spiritual works, especially those of Luther, the foundation was by this means laid, which influenced his thoughts and purposes, both in early and later life. He afterwards frequently asserted, that, next to God, he was indebted to the care then bestowed upon him, for the loss of all relish for any thing but the doctrine of Jesus Christ, his merits, and his sufferings.

It was the intention of the friends of the young Count, eventually to devote him to state-affairs, after the example of his predecessors and relatives; and there was apparently no doubt that this object would be attained. He was, indeed, constitutionally weak and delicate; but it was hoped, that in course of time, this would be overcome; and such was in reality the case, but not until after his twenty-first year. It was observed, that he quickly apprehended and retained all that he heard; but being at the same time of a volatile disposition, he learnt to read but slowly. He possessed the faculty both of being able to conceive a clear idea of a subject, and of forming an opinion, after comparing one thing with another. But quick and volatile as he was on the one hand, on the other he manifested a profound and extensive capacity. Sometimes he was also irascible, violent, and impetuous. He describes himself in the following terms: "My genius was simple, but natural; my memory retentive; with a mind more lively than phlegmatic; a disposition sufficiently calm to weigh the reasons of a thing; originality of ideas, which

might have been more productive, had I been less scrupulous; an inclination to grave subjects, and a love to the truth, which moderated even my propensity to poetize."

Before he was four years old, he had apprehended the chief points of christian doctrine, and had taken to heart especially the important truth, that Christ was our brother, and that he died for us. The esteem he felt, even when a child, for Luther's Smaller Catechism, and the divine truths contained in it, he continued to feel during his whole life. He regarded it as the most valuable book next to the Bible, and as a master-piece of that distinguished servant of God, in the composition of which he had been certainly most powerfully assisted and directed by the Spirit of God.

He attained but slowly the knowledge of languages, but his heart was captivated by the love of Jesus before his understanding could clearly comprehend every thing. He was in particular very fond of the hymns which were sung at Advent, Christmas, and during the Passion week; and always rejoiced a long time before, in anticipation of these seasons of devotion.

But let us now listen to his own account of his early years. "It was my happiness," says he, "early to experience a heartfelt impression of the Saviour: after this, all my wishes and desires were directed towards the Bridegroom of my soul, that I might live unto him who atoned for me. The Saviour fulfilled my wish, when I began to love him, though but a child. I heard his voice repeatedly in my heart, and saw him with the eyes of faith." In an address, given at Geneva, he says, "My little children, I will tell you how I acted, when I was still very little; and, if you like it, you can do so likewise. I was told concerning my Creator, that he became a man. This affected me deeply. I thought within myself, 'Though the Lord should be esteemed by no one else, yet will I cleave to him, and live and die with him.' In this manner I filially conversed with him for many years, spoke for hours together to him, like one friend to another, and many times paced up and down the room absorbed in meditation. I felt happy in conversing with him, and grateful for his having remembered me for good in his incarnation. But I did not wholly under-

stand the greatness and sufficiency of his meritorious sufferings, nor was my own wretchedness and inability sufficiently obvious to me. I did also what I could in order to be saved, until one extraordinary day, when I was so much affected by that which my Creator had suffered for me, that I shed an abundance of tears, and attached and joined myself still more closely and tenderly to him. I continued to converse with him when I was quite alone, and believed sincerely that he was very near me. I was well acquainted with many texts, which expressed truths of this nature. I also thought, 'He is God, and can understand me, although I may not be able properly to explain myself. He is conscious of what I wish to say to him,' &c. I often thought, that if he only heard me once, it would suffice to make me happy during my whole life. Thus, for more than fifty years, I have conversed as it were personally with the Saviour, and feel happier every day in doing so."

He elsewhere relates, that, in his seventh and eighth years, he was strongly assailed by inward temptations, which urged him to earnest prayer and humble converse with God. These were occasionally so violent as to disturb his repose; but he always turned away from them with disgust, for his heart loved the Saviour. Although the precise nature of these temptations is not known, yet the experience of them in his youth taught him, by divine grace, the best means of resisting similar attacks. A heart filled with love to Jesus Christ, depending upon the divine word, and taking refuge with Christ, when falling into temptation, shall never be put to shame.

Sometimes when he had pen, ink, and paper before him, he wrote a little note to his beloved Saviour, told him in it how his heart felt towards him, and threw it out of the window, in the hopes that he would find it. His covenant with the Saviour was, "Be thou mine, dear Saviour, and I will be thine!" and this he often renewed. During the whole of his life, every place in the mansion at Hennersdorf, where the Lord in his loving-kindness had made himself known to him, and let him taste his goodness, continued always dear to him; and even in his sixtieth year, he was able minutely to remember all that he had there experienced.

If he went to church when the sacrament was to be administered, his thoughts were entirely directed to it; and he always felt a reverence for those whom he had seen approaching the table of the Lord; since he firmly believed, that by partaking of the body and blood of Jesus, such individuals became united with God himself. He was also very attentive to the prayers which were read after the sermon, and knew them so well as to be able to repeat them at home. He was as fond of speaking as of hearing of his dear Saviour; and when he was alone, or left to himself, he even spoke of him to the chairs, which in his playfulness he had collected together: with that of which his heart was full, his lips overflowed.

Nothing was more gratifying to him than to do any one a kindness. The money which was given him for the first time, in his sixth year,—perhaps by way of putting him to the test,—he gave to the first person who came in his way. This peculiar fondness of doing good to others continued with him all his life, and it pained him deeply if unable to help others in their necessities. Nothing was of value to him, when he thought another needed it more than himself; and when he did good to any one, it was done in such a pleasing manner, as to render it still more welcome and agreeable. The smallest service rendered him at an appropriate time, made an abiding impression upon him; and when opportunity presented itself of showing his gratitude, he knew no bounds. He took such delight in doing good, that his beneficence often exceeded his ability. Far from being expensive with reference to himself, he felt impelled to restrict himself, in order to give the more bountifully to others. In short, from his very childhood, his soul was full of love and compassion towards every one, however mean; and he was passionately attached to those who gave themselves much trouble about him.

I have been thus prolix in describing the Count's childhood, because I regard it as the basis of his whole life, and as the happiest part of it. I now come to the following period of his life,—the time he spent at school. His grandmother had a great predilection for Professor Franké, and therefore made

arrangements, with the consent of his mother, for his removal to the royal school at Halle, which was universally celebrated for its excellent regulations, and especially for the education of young noblemen. He accordingly entered on the 16th of August, 1710, in the eleventh year of his age.

He was there rather harshly treated, in consequence of singular, though well-meant instructions, sent respecting him to Professor Franké. He was described as a youth of great abilities, but one who required to be kept down, that he might not become proud and presume upon his talents. These hints were punctually followed, and caused the young Count much that was unpleasant. He was placed in the lower classes, and young people preferred before him, who were less advanced than himself. If he committed any fault, he was frequently punished in a manner unbecoming his rank, or tasks were assigned him which he could not perform, without drawing down ridicule and contempt upon himself.

Had he exerted all his ability to make progress in his studies, it would not have been difficult for him to have attained to eminence in learning. But his wishes and desires had another aim. He loved the Saviour, and continually sought to please him, and do good to others. He was not partial to that which occupied the understanding and filled the memory, whilst it afforded the heart neither nourishment nor enjoyment. He therefore did not enter, with any great warmth, into his studies, but pursued them more from a principle of obedience. Perhaps also his illness, of which we shall subsequently speak, depressed his energies. Yet he made more progress than might have been supposed, from his state of mind as described above. He had advanced as far in Greek as to make an oration in that language, in his sixteenth year; and was so completely master of the Latin, that when a subject was given him, on which to compose a speech, he was wont immediately to deliver it extempore. He did not succeed with the Hebrew language, although instructed in it for the space of three years. In poetry he became so expert, that he was generally able to compose his verses more rapidly than to indite them.

Hitherto he had lived in a state of filial, cordial, and tender

affection towards his Saviour. He was possessed of a good understanding, but at the same time of a certain childlike simplicity, to which his previous education had probably much contributed: hence he felt neither scruple nor apprehension with respect to many indifferent things, which afforded matter for dispute at that period. When playing with others, paying attention to his dress, and being at the same time cheerful and merry, it did not occur to him that there was any thing improper in it. Though he loved solitude, yet he was also fond of company; and being of a friendly disposition, he took pleasure in gratifying others, as far as he could do so without acting against his conviction. But on becoming acquainted, in the sequel, with the controversies respecting what were termed indifferent or neutral things, he began to hesitate. He knew some persons, for instance, who, though they did not play, allowed themselves other things, which were not according to the word of God; whilst others, who spoke in favour of these indifferent things, did so because they loved vanity, and were unacquainted with Jesus Christ.

He then began to impress upon the opposers of those things, that time might be worse spent than in engaging in them; whilst to those who pleaded for them, he showed the injury they might sustain from them.

He himself did not always remain the same; for sometimes he let himself be induced to play, from a variety of good motives, whilst at other times he entirely refused to join in it. This mode of behaviour drew upon him the dissatisfaction of many, and much unpleasantness. People who did not love our Lord Jesus Christ, and hated his reproof, were hostile to him, because they knew he was not of their sentiments; whilst he who regarded things of an indifferent nature as absolutely sinful, did not consider him as a converted character.

That which touched his heart, he sought to turn to the best advantage. In one of his letters, he says, "The daily opportunity of hearing edifying intelligence respecting the kingdom of Christ—of speaking with witnesses for the truth from every part of the world—of becoming acquainted with missionaries—and of seeing such as had been exiled and imprisoned, afforded me in Professor Franké's house, as well as his flourishing

institutions and his own zeal in the work of the Lord, together with various heavy trials, have mightily strengthened my zeal for the cause of God, and laid a foundation for a knowledge of the various hinderances to and advantages of true piety. A desire to suffer, and a faith to break through every impediment, and a contentment with the meanest circumstances, in particular, deeply insinuated themselves into my mind at that time."

He continued his familiar intercourse with the Saviour, and, especially during prayer, experienced much enjoyment. When he heard of the sufferings and distress of others, he made it also a matter of prayer, for it deeply affected him. At the same time he was well-disposed, and of a noble mind, but inexperienced; hence he committed many mistakes, however much he sought to avoid them, and was, besides this, frequently falsely accused; all which served to embitter his life, for he took delight in loving and being loved. It was therefore a great comfort to him, that he not only enjoyed the intimate friendship of several of his schoolfellows, but also the cordial affection of some of the preceptors, including Dr. Anton and others. He lost, however, whilst in Halle, his clear view of the truths of the gospel, and began to hesitate upon many points.

Inquisitive as he naturally was, he listened unwillingly to things which produced ideas of a dangerous tendency in his mind, and yet he was on the point of being led astray, and seduced to that which is evil. "But," says he, "because I possessed the admonition of the Spirit, with which they were unacquainted, I was not only restrained from the commission of evil, but succeeded, more than once, in prevailing with those that sought to seduce me, to join me in prayer, and won them over to Christ."

At this period also, he sought, by all the means in his power, to bring others to Jesus, that they might participate in the grace he had received. He therefore began to hold little meetings for prayer with them in retired places, in order that they might not be disturbed: these meetings were continued for nearly six years, and not without a blessing. He loved those beyond measure, who manifested any disposition to give themselves to Jesus; and was even able cordially to

associate with acknowledged enemies, if they did not act profanely, in the hope that they might eventually be a source of joy to the Saviour. But after he had succeeded in finding some amongst the scholars with whom he could associate more closely as it regarded love to Christ, he commenced a friendly and affectionate intercourse with them. His fundamental idea, even at that period, was, what he also expressed on a subsequent occasion :—" The most needful thing is the possession of true faith in the heart, which, according to Luther's expression, changes and regenerates the heart, mind, and all the powers." These meetings were by no means intended to promote dissent, but simply to experience the fulfilment of the Saviour's promise,—" Wherever two or three are met in my name, there am I in the midst of them." In an address delivered on 16th August, 1748, the Count mentions that as much labour, trouble, and fidelity were requisite with reference to this small society, as were subsequently required by a large congregation. They were also as much envied and persecuted.

They subsequently entered into a still closer connexion, which had no other object than the knowledge of God our Saviour, and the salvation of the souls of men. They laid as the basis, certain maxims which were in conformity with the doctrine of Jesus ; and instituted certain rules, to the observance of which, after mature deliberation, they bound themselves in the presence of the Lord. This association was long kept secret, and would have continued so, had not the rules accidentally fallen into the hands of a certain Professor, who published them. When its members were subsequently scattered into various countries, they maintained their intimate connexion by a spirited correspondence.

A special covenant was also formed between our young Count and Baron Frederick Von Wattewille, with reference to the heathen—not that they expected to be able to labour personally for their conversion, being both destined by their relatives for offices in the state—but they hoped that the same God, who had sent Professor Franké to Baron Von Canstein, would also point out people to them, who should be suitable for such an important work. The sequel proves that they were in earnest with respect to this covenant ; since, in consequence

of it, many thousand heathens have found their salvation in the sufferings and death of Jesus.

This latter being the element in which he lived, it may easily be supposed how he must have felt when he first approached the Lord's table. He says, "The contemplation of the holy, innocent, and bitter sufferings of Jesus, almost overpowered me. Hence I believed with my whole heart, that he would be merciful and gracious to me; and I not only formed the resolution to amend my life, but rejoiced like a child at the prospect of it. Although it is twenty years ago, yet it is as new to me as if it had taken place yesterday, and I have not yet lost what I then found."

Meanwhile, the Count's health began to decline, which was probably accelerated by the unpleasant circumstances to which we have already alluded, and the absence of necessary recreation. He therefore spent some time at Hennersdorf, with his grandmother, but returned to Halle as soon as he had recovered a little. Much that he subsequently suffered and enjoyed, took its rise from his residence in Halle, and whilst at school there. I know many worthy individuals, and even great men, who became acquainted with him in Halle; and the impression which his tender love to Jesus then made upon them, caused them to honour and love him till his death; whilst it cannot be denied that the opposition the Count met with from others, which was continued as long as he lived, originated also at Halle.

He left Halle in the beginning of April 1716, and, after a short residence with his uncle and guardian at Gavernitz, he arrived at Great Hennersdorf, where he spent eleven weeks with his grandmother. He there availed himself of her library, read in particular the works of Luther, Franké, and other divines, and composed several poems. On the 8th July, he again visited his guardian, who read to him the instructions prepared for him by his grandmother, and a few weeks after, sent him to the University of Wittenberg.

Had the choice been left to him, he would have preferred remaining in Halle to proceeding to Wittenberg; but his guardian, for various reasons, insisted upon it, and omitted nothing that might contribute to the end he had in view with

his nephew. He took upon himself the sole direction of his education, which had hitherto depended partly on his mother, and partly on his grandmother. He gave Crisenius, his governor, complete authority over him, and furnished him with copious instructions how his studies should be regulated, as well as other things necessary for his academical course. The young Count formed the serious resolution of punctually abiding by these instructions, and found in the sequel, that they served him like a shield, against a variety of aberrations into which he might easily have fallen.

He arrived in Wittenberg on the 7th September, 1716. His governor read, in his name, the academical oath, but he declared himself as follows:—"Ego Nicolaus Ludovicus, Comes a Zinzendorf, non juro sed promitto, &c.;" on which the academical laws, &c. were sent him. On being admonished to keep them inviolate, and to serve as an example for the whole university, he himself added, "Me Deus adjuvet!"

With respect to his mode of acting and thinking during this period, it is to be observed in the general, that it was sincere, but more legal than evangelical. He saw that he was in great danger, because he became unceasingly acquainted with himself and the corruption of his own nature; and knew, at the same time, that it was the intention to bring him off, if possible, from his zealous endeavours after godliness, which were regarded as excessive, and wont to be termed pietism. This made him afraid, lest he should lose the treasure which he carried about in his earthen vessel; and he was therefore day and night upon his guard. He did not esteem it too much, occasionally to spend a whole night in prayer and meditation on the word of God. He resolved, notwithstanding his weakness, to fast every Friday, and observed it with great strictness for a season. But when he saw that he was often hindered by visits and other business, he took Sunday for his fast-day, and refused to receive visits as much as was practicable, that he might render it advantageous to his soul by prayer and meditation on the Scriptures.

He regularly attended his lectures, and all the exercises prescribed him. In company he was cheerful—in his studies, diligent—in public speaking, expert—in disputing, acute—

and in conduct, polite. His deportment possessed something attractive, his person something noble, and all this drew upon him the attention of every one.

He combined no other idea with the expression that he had been a strict pietist in Wittenberg, than that he heartily coincided with the views of the divines in Halle. He took their part, suffered with them, for their sakes endured much opposition, and maintained their system of doctrine against every opposer.

He very warmly refuted the charges against the Orphan House at Glaucha, and defended Professor Franké with all his might, whose writings he not only studied for himself, but sought also to place in the hands of others. For this purpose, he translated his treatise on Prayer into the French language, and likewise wrote some tracts himself.

He also testified on all occasions the greatest veneration for Dr. Spener, and says, in an oration which he delivered on the merits of that eminent divine, "I thank God for having again magnified the name of that holy man in our ungrateful Saxony."

During the first years of his residence in Wittenberg, he suffered many grievous and tedious conflicts, and had much to endure from those, to whom his zeal for godliness was intolerable. The year following, he began to be more intimately acquainted with the divines in Wittenberg, and his prejudices against them were much weakened. In particular, he felt more confidence in Dr. Wernsdorf; to which both his sermons and his society contributed. In his studies, he surpassed others; and on public occasions acquired much applause. Following the advice of his guardian, he limited his intercourse with others, and allowed himself less liberty in their company.

The year following, he received a pleasing visit from some of his Halle friends, with whom he stood in connexion. On this occasion, one of the young gentlemen who studied at Wittenberg, was received into their covenant: this took place in the midst of many prayers and supplications, in which the Count also spent the whole night. He continued to apply himself diligently to his studies, but made his salvation his chief concern.

In the middle of December, he travelled to Dresden and

Great Hennersdorf on a visit, being desirous of conversing with his mother and grandmother respecting his governor, who, though a learned and able man, was of very opposite sentiments to himself with respect to practical piety. After his return, he wrote to his mother, stating, that if she was desirous that his governor should remain with him, he would not raise the smallest objection, but resign himself to patience in the severest trials, as long as it pleased God. Crisenius, however, did not leave him, until he was elsewhere provided for.

Whilst he attended all the lectures on civil law, in order to fit himself for an office in the state, his desires were constantly directed towards the study of divinity: but as he was not permitted to deliver lectures of this kind in a public manner, he read them at home during his leisure hours.

He pursued his theological studies in particular, with prayer, and devoted many hours to the composition of hymns and spiritual poems. As often as any of the other lectures terminated, he immediately devoted the spare time to divinity, and likewise wrote several treatises of a theological nature. His parents not permitting him to devote himself to the study of divinity, he learnt it more at the feet of Jesus, than through the medium of human instruction.

His inclination for the ministerial office, which he had cherished from his earliest years, ripened into a firm decision in the year 1717, during his intercourse with Dr. Wernsdorf. He felt impelled to make choice of this profession, in order that he might save his soul; and saw greater danger in any other station of which he could form to himself an idea, than in the clerical office. He also wished to do something in the world for the honour of his Saviour, and the good of his neighbour; and it appeared evident to him that this could be best accomplished, with the Divine assistance, in that profession. At the same time, he had not formed any great plan, nor did he cherish any lofty ideas, but merely thought of becoming a simple catechist, or happy village preacher; or in time, perhaps, a domestic chaplain in some family.

Resolving therefore to devote his chief attention to divinity, he did not omit to communicate with his friends on the subject, and requested in particular Professor Franke's opinion upon it.

In order to prevent persons from endeavouring to draw him into worldly affairs, he expressed his sentiments on every occasion that presented itself, and hoped in this manner to induce them to give up the attempt.

I now come to his endeavours to make peace between the divines in Halle, and those in Wittenberg, for which he was well fitted, with the exception of his youth. He had not only read the writings on both sides of the question, but also stood with both on the same footing of love and friendship. He had also taken the words of our Lord, "Blessed are the peace-makers," so much to heart, that no trouble seemed to him too great to accomplish it.

However, he knew very well, that he should be doing wrong to interfere in the matter without being called to it, although he believed it would be rendering an essential service to the church of Christ; and he had also the hope that it would come to a compromise between the conflicting parties. But after the preliminary steps had been taken, his mother forbade him proceeding further in it; he did not, however, give up the expectation of its final accomplishment, but wrote to one of his friends, saying, "With respect to the divines of this place, I am still of opinion that peace will be in my times."

Were I briefly to state my sentiments respecting his inward state and outward conduct during his academic years, I would say, that his heart adhered to Jesus Christ; intercourse with Him was important and delightful to him, and the consideration of Jesus's merits and sufferings was his joy, although his views were not yet entirely clear upon the subject. He would gladly have brought others to Christ; but because he mingled law and gospel together, little real blessing ensued. He was himself subsequently of opinion, that he had given himself much unnecessary trouble as regards his devotional exercises. He would certainly have made greater progress in his studies if his soul had been more in them: however, he sought usefully to employ his time, and only lamented that he could not devote the whole of it to the study of divinity.

His society had something in it that was pleasing and edifying, and hence it was sought after. However, it was sometimes rendered a little unpleasant by his opposition to

venial things. When circumstances required it, he proved himself resolute and courageous, even to the exposing of himself—never for the purpose of doing injury, but solely to prevent unhappy results. There was likewise always something uncommon in his deportment, which distinguished him from others.

In the spring of 1719, he left the university of Wittenberg, after taking a sincere and friendly leave of his teachers, who were very well satisfied with him: the students also parted with him unwillingly. He was nevertheless heartily ashamed of several things during his residence there, which he acknowledged as faults. "Probably," says he, "others thought better of me, than I did of myself."

Being now about to commence his travels, Mr. Riederer, who had travelled with his brother, was appointed in the place of Crisenius, as his governor.

Our young nobleman did not enter upon his travels without apprehension. He had learnt to know a little of the world at Wittenberg, which seemed to him bad enough; and he expected nothing better in other countries. However, he obeyed the wishes of his relatives, but took the firm resolution, by Divine assistance, never to deviate from true godliness.

His elder brother, Count Frederick-Christian, not only resigned his governor to him, but likewise offered to accompany him to Holland, which was very agreeable to his relatives. They commenced their journey, and his brother met them at Leipzig.

The Count was very desirous of seeing Frankfort-on-the-Mayne, it being the place in which Spener had so usefully laboured. From thence they proceeded to Dusseldorf, where the Count's attention was particularly attracted by the excellent *Ecce Homo* in the picture gallery, under which was the following inscription: "All this I have done for thee; what doest thou for me?" He reflected that he would scarcely be able to answer this question, and besought his Saviour to force him into the fellowship of his sufferings, if he should ever be disinclined to it. He entered Utrecht on his birth-day, the

26th of May. He returned thanks to his Creator for his gracious preservation, wished that he might live no longer, if he ceased to live to him, and hoped that his faithful Creator would graciously confirm him in this resolution all his life long. During the whole journey, his mind had been sensibly drawn away from earthly things, and his desires continually directed to Jesus, entreating at the same time his blessing upon others.

From Utrecht, they travelled to Gouda, Rotterdam, Delft, the Hague, Leyden, Haarlem, and Amsterdam. At the latter place, they visited the Armenian church, and were present at the ceremonies of their public worship. His brother being compelled to return to Saxony, he accompanied him again to Utrecht, when they parted from each other with fraternal affection; and, in accordance with the will of his relatives, he took up his residence there for a period.

He there pursued his study of jurisprudence, and likewise received instruction in the English language. He frequently conversed with a certain learned man, who was well acquainted with physiology, and other parts of the science of medicine; for he was fond of that study, and continued to be so as long as he lived: at the same time, he read the theological writings of Spener and others. He devoted the Lord's day especially, to the study of the Scriptures, and said, "I will abide by my former custom of devoting the Sunday for the benefit of my soul, whatever opinions people may form of it."

His health was very indifferent whilst he resided in Utrecht, and subject to a variety of attacks. Once, when on the point of going early to the riding-school, he suddenly fainted, and bruised his face by falling to the ground; this occasioned him to keep his bed for several days in great pain.

His thoughts, during his residence in Utrecht, were directed more to eternity than to the present life; and he often spake upon that subject when in company. This was in particular the case, whilst visiting, on one occasion, the prince of Nassau-Siegen, with other noblemen and gentlemen; and, after a certain cavalier had related many things of an edifying nature, the Count began to speak upon the vanity of the present life

and all its pleasures, and the great glory of that which is to come. No one opposed him, but a certain Baron, who did not wish to hear any thing of death. The Count replied, that he did not wonder he was afraid to die; but with regard to himself, he was any moment ready to make the transition: death would be to him a real pleasure, and a true Christian could not be afraid of it.

The happy decease of Baron Von Canstein, of which he received intelligence whilst at Utrecht, occasioned him to reflect, and express himself still more upon the dissolution of the children of God, and he composed a poem upon the subject.

However strongly he was opposed to the sins and vanities of the world, which he could not avoid seeing, yet his heart was full of tenderness towards all who loved the Saviour, and full of love to all mankind; and, in his daily prayers, he included persons of all ranks and professions, as well as his open and secret enemies. He concludes with the words, "Extend thy care over thy whole flock, and over all that I now humbly bring before thee. Forget none of whom I may be forgetful; and cause thy face to shine, with gracious beams, upon all who do not render themselves unworthy of it!"

Besides the friends and acquaintances in Holland, whose friendship he already possessed, from having known them in Wittenberg, and who showed him much esteem and affection, he also associated, in Utrecht, with many individuals of different religious persuasions. How beneficial their society, as well as that of the many able men he met with in Holland, was to him, is evident from his own confession, by extending his views upon a variety of subjects, and rendering his opinions more liberal and moderate.

On the 11th August, he travelled, in company with the Prince of Nassau-Siegen, to visit Prince William Henry of Orange, who received them with many marks of distinction. The Count obtained permission to repeat his visit, and was invited by the Princess of Orange herself to be present on the 1st of September, the celebration of the Prince's birthday. He accordingly appeared in company with Count Von der Lippe, and several other noblemen, and, after the custo-

mary congratulations, presented a poem to the Princess, which was very graciously received.

On the 2d of September, he left Utrecht, accompanied by Mr. Von Grone and his governor, and proceeded to Amsterdam, and from thence to the Hague. There his faith and love to the truth were put to the test. A certain statesman treated him magnificently, on which occasion a Catholic ambassador, of high rank, laboured for hours together to bring him over to his sentiments. This was likewise done by others, during which, they were not sparing of their encomiums upon him. But he at length openly declared, that God required a pure worship, and that the vanities of the world were not only folly, but dangerous to the soul; that heavenly things were thereby neglected and put aside; and that the hour of death then became a torment, and the dying bed a rack, which would inflict torture on both body and soul, instead of being a step to heaven, and a foretaste of a blissful eternity!

From the Hague, the Count proceeded to Rotterdam, and from thence by water to Antwerp, where he arrived on the 19th of September. After a short stay there, he proceeded on his journey, by way of Malines, Brussels, Valenciennes, and Cambrai; and arrived in Paris on the 27th of September, 1719.

The Count's residence in Paris was not of long duration, but sufficiently remarkable. "I went upon my travels," says he, "but the more I entered into the world, the more firmly did the Lord retain his hold of me; and I sought out those amongst the great of this world, to whom I could speak upon the grace and goodness of my Saviour. I found them frequently where it would not have been expected. I was polite towards those to whom I could not trust myself, but reserved towards such as endeavoured to seduce me; and took occasion, as I had begun to do at the universities, to disabuse them, the fruits of which I now enjoy. I conferred with my Saviour on every thing of importance. In Paris, I was quite in my element. I there came into contact with bishops and religious persons who were sincere, and became acquainted with some ladies who were the subjects of divine grace. Time then did not seem long to me, and I was grieved at being

obliged so soon to leave them. In other respects, from a deficiency of knowledge, I was very legal, and have since wondered at the patience of my friends, especially Cardinal de Noailles, who must have endured much from my strange humour. For that which I recognised to be correct, I sought emphatically to inculcate; and I could immediately break with my most valuable friends, if I believed they were not to be depended upon with respect to religion. The world knew not what to make of me; because I was externally not different to others, except that I did not dance at court, nor played cards in Paris. Many who knew me, thought I had preserved my baptismal covenant; those who were unable to discriminate, reported me to be a Pietist; whereas they, to whom this name was given, would not let me pass for one. On the whole, it seems to me, that if I had been properly informed of all the various seductions to which I should be exposed in the world, I should not have lingered at them, nor viewed them so attentively. My ignorance gave rise to many distractions. The knowledge of human corruption and the stratagems of the adversary, to fashion us according to his purposes, has always been salutary to me."

The first real pleasure he felt in Paris, was in the company of Count Henry XXIX. Reuss, and his governor, Mr. Von Bonin, with whom he was able to spend a few days in devout converse before their departure. "We thought more (says he) of God and his truth, than of human things and ideas; and our meetings were so devotional, that we hope to repeat them in eternity."

He circumscribed his acquaintance with foreigners of rank, many of whom were at that time in Paris; though without incurring a breach of decorum. He became known to the Princes of the house of Gotha, the Prince of Schwartzburg-Sondershausen, and the Prince of Baden, the latter of whom showed him much kindness. He continued the friendship, commenced in Utrecht, with the Counts of Darmeskiold, and also became well acquainted with Count Von Leiningen, Baron Stosch, and Mr. Von Tschirnhausen. It was also about this time that he met with Baron Nicholas Von Wattewille, who writes as follows:—"I first became acquainted with the

Count when at Paris, in November 1719. He had heard that a Wattewille had arrived; and thinking it might be a brother of his friend Frederick's, he sought me out and sent for me. He immediately knew me from my physiognomy, and was much gratified at seeing me. We soon became very cordial friends, and saw each other almost every day. In his heart, he remained what he was; and I, what I was. In this respect we had no affinity, irrespective of our friendship. I loved the world; he took no pleasure in it. He conducted me to cardinals and bishops; and I could not persuade him to go to a single opera."

The Count was at first little inclined to come into contact with the French clergy. The pomp they displayed on public occasions, did not edify him; and he noticed in some of them, things that were disgusting. However, he became acquainted with the upright Father de la Tour, General of the Society of the Oratory. Asking the Count on one occasion, whether he had been present at a certain amusement, and inferring from his answer, that he was no friend to the vanities of the world, they commenced, not only a friendly, but also a beneficial and edifying intercourse. The Count promised to visit him frequently, and the Reverend Father assured him of his friendship. Some days after he conducted the Count to Cardinal de Noailles, by whom he was very kindly received. The conversation lasted nearly two hours and a half, and was dangerous to the Count, because both of them showed him very great politeness and friendship. In several subsequent conversations, they endeavoured to bring him over to the Romish church; and after the Cardinal had written to him twice, the Count sent him a treatise, in the Latin language, in which he copiously developed his religious views.

At length they approached nearer, on both sides, to the point, on which salvation depends. The Cardinal acknowledged the grace that dwelt in the Count, and therefore regarded him as a child of God, manifested much love and friendship towards him, spoke with him on christian experience, and dismissed all disputes about religion. The Count besought the Cardinal to be faithful in the circumstances in which he was placed; to do nothing from the fear of, or to please, men;

undauntedly to maintain the truth he recognised; not to mingle his dignity as cardinal with the cause of Christ, &c. They were, therefore, united in heart, although each retained his peculiar creed; until, in consequence of the Cardinal's acceptance of the Constitution *Unigenitus*, a breach ensued; for the Count took the matter so deeply to heart, that he resolved to break off all intercourse with the Cardinal, and for this purpose wrote him a letter, in which he plainly told him so, though deeply regretting the circumstance.

Not long after, the Count went to a church of the Premonstrants, and heard a sermon from a Dominican monk. His discourse had reference solely to the chief points of christian doctrine;—that a change of life succeeds a conversion of the heart; that if we have the mind of Christ, we cannot be at peace with the world; that a reformation was needed, not only amongst the poor, but especially amongst the great, &c. The man pleased the Count; for he spoke lovingly, pleasantly, devoutly, humbly, and cordially; and he thought he had been led thither by Divine Providence. He went, therefore, into the oratory of the Premonstrants, in order personally to become acquainted with the preacher, and learnt that his name was Father Anthony Dionysius Simon D'Albizi.* In the course of their conversation, they fell upon important subjects, and at length upon Cardinal de Noailles. This brought them further to speak of the appealing bishops, and the Dominican offered to make the Count acquainted with them. He consequently visited Peter de Langlet, Bishop of Boulogne, a man who enjoyed the testimony of having known, taught, and acted according to God's word, and of having proved himself, in boisterous as well as peaceful times, a preacher of the truth. He requested to have the Count's letter to the Cardinal read over to him, and gave it as his opinion, that the Holy Spirit had incited him to it. He showed him in return, the letter of the appealing bishops to the Cardinal, and the answer of the

* The Count thus expresses himself in a letter respecting him:—"In Father D'Albizi, I have found a second Taulerus. He has already been once rewarded with the Bastille. He has spoken loudly from the pulpit against the recent accommodation. I must, generally speaking, admire the sincerity of the Catholics of this country."

latter. He then took him to the Bishop of Montpelier, brother to the Marquis de Torcy, and a violent opposer of the Constitution Unigenitus. The company was increased by the Abbot Pompone, and they conversed together very confidentially.*

The Count was also well received in Paris by other persons and families of rank. I will only mention Marshal Villars, the Swedish Ambassador, Lord Stair, who in particular showed him much kindness, and Cardinal de Bussy. A Duchess, who lived in the royal palace, sent him word that she wished to see him, and on his paying her a visit, showed him great esteem and respect.

The Count stood also in peculiar favour with the widowed mother of the Regent of France, a daughter of the Elector Charles Louis, of the Palatinate. On being presented to this princess by the duchess above mentioned, she remembered having been acquainted with his father and uncle forty years before, and expressed her great attachment to Germany.

Being with her on one occasion, the Regent entered her apartments, on which she presented him to him, and recommended him in a particularly gracious manner to his favour.

The influence which these things had upon his heart, is described by himself in the following terms:—"I regarded the extraordinary honours paid me in Paris, as dangerous incitements, and with fear and trembling; and have reason to thank God for having always faithfully humbled me to the dust with paternal severity respecting them." He does not deny being occasionally powerfully attacked by pride; but states that he had experienced so much the severer reproofs in his heart in consequence, and that it had served to humble him the more. He relates that on one occasion, he had not been received

* It was certainly at some risk that the Count associated so intimately with the appealing bishops. He himself says, "I was not altogether safe in Paris, in consequence of the affair of the Constitution, which was at that time much agitated; and hence my governor was extremely anxious respecting me." It seems that he narrowly escaped being poisoned by a person, who could not bear his zeal for the appealing bishops; for immediately afterwards he felt its effects, fell dangerously ill, and retained the marks of it in his face until his end.

with due distinction at Court, and complained on that account to the court chamberlain, of the master of the ceremonies, and requested satisfaction, which was immediately promised him. But soon after, on maturely weighing the circumstance, he found that his pride was not yet dead. On this he threw himself at the Lord's feet, besought his grace and forgiveness with many tears, and gladly gave up his rights. "I promised the Saviour (says he) to become his pure follower, and entirely to renounce the world. And this resolution, with respect to honour and distinction, has since that time continued unchanged; and the reproach of Christ has always occasioned me joy."

Towards the end of the year 1719, he became very ill. His heart was at the same time directed to God; and his first and dearest thought was, the expectation that he would take him to himself. It was impossible for him to pray for the prolongation of his life. But God, who intended to preserve him, and make use of him in his church, blessed the means which were used for his recovery. Respecting this, he says, "I did not expect to have seen the commencement of another year; on the contrary, I hoped to have been received into eternal habitations. At the same time I heartly thank my Creator for his innumerable benefits, which I reverentially admire. By him I have been delivered from the bonds of corruption, whose servant I might have become. I hate and abhor the slothfulness, by which so many valuable hours of days gone past have been perverted, and entreat the Lord Jesus to make me a partaker of his image and his likeness." He finally commits himself to the guidance of the Shepherd of Israel, and resigns to him, for the future, the further direction of his steps.

In the spring of 1720, the Count left Paris, and came first to Strasburg, from whence he wrote to Father D'Albizi, whose frendship had become of great importance to him; to which the latter replied, and gave him intelligence respecting the bishop of Chalons, who was brother to Cardinal de Noailles, and the bishops of Montpelier and Boulogne.

From Strasburg he proceeded to Bâsle, where he had appointed to meet his beloved friend, Baron Frederick Von

Wattewille and his brother Nicholas, who had returned from Paris to Switzerland. With them he spent a very happy and edifying week, and renewed, especially with the former, the covenant of love and fidelity to our Lord and Saviour, which they had made together in Halle.

He travelled from Bâsle, by way of Schaffhausen, to Zurich; and became acquainted, on this journey, with two aged and pious divines, Dr. Mayer in Schaffhausen, and Dr. Samuel Werenfels in Bâsle.

From Switzerland he went through Nurenberg to Oberbirg, a mansion belonging to the Countess of Polheim, his father's sister, and at that time a widow; where he remained for some time.

His chief occupation at Oberbirg, I find expressed in a letter to M. Von Bonin, at Ebersdorf, dated 23d July, 1720. "My present employment" says he, "is to go through the whole history of the Passion, which I have here found in verse, with beautiful remarks by Mr. Heize the castle-warden; and to make some additions to it."

Hitherto Mr. Riederer, his governor, had travelled with him; and it would appear that they were well satisfied with each other. In general he only looked on, and interposed occasionally; for it was very evident to him, that a superior hand was extended over the Count. But when he feared the latter would act precipitately, or might unintentionally commit an error, he was firm and immovable. The Count, in a letter to his aunt, bore testimony to his integrity and fidelity to the extent of his knowledge. The Count's brother again requested his services, and he accepted the offer. The Count himself took leave of him in a friendly letter, in which he assures him of his high esteem and friendship, and of his unceasing acknowledgment of his services. At the same time he entreats his forgiveness, if, during the time of their being together, he had occasionally displeased him. He asserts however, that if he had sometimes insisted upon his principles, he had never done so to the depreciation of the esteem he felt for Mr. Riederer.

From Overbirg the Count proceeded to Castell, to visit the Dowager Countess and her family, who was also an aunt of his. His intention was only to remain a week; but a fever

which attacked him, prolonged his stay for upwards of two months; besides which, he afterwards suffered from a painful disorder in the eyes, which threatened him with the loss of sight. During this residence, he became acquainted with Sophia Christiana, Margravine of Brandenburg-Culmbach, who was closely allied to the noble house of Castell,—an acquaintance which he ever after considered as important.

I will not deny that here also his serious deportment proved troublesome to some of his noble relatives. For, both by word and example, he opposed the idea that a person was permitted to take greater liberties than any other Christian, because he was of high rank. He was also wont, on the Sunday, to retire from all company, from three till half-past seven o'clock, in order that he might spend the time in silent intercourse with the Lord his God. Pains indeed were taken to induce him to alter his conduct, but he continued firm to his purpose.

In the Countess Theodora of Castell, his youngest cousin, the Count thought he perceived those qualities which are uncommon in ladies of her rank; and conceived so much esteem and affection for her, that he resolved to propose marriage to her. He informed the Countess, her mother, of this resolution, who was not only satisfied with it, but clearly evinced her desire that it might take place. The guardian of the young Countess also gave his consent, and the affair being spoken of freely, the officers of the household were also all in favour of it. The Count now made his offer to the Countess Theodora. She replied, that "if God would more incline her mind to it, than was at present the case, she would not oppose it." This answer being not a direct negative, the Count looked upon it as an assent. They were not, however, solemnly betrothed; for he wished, first of all, to converse with his relatives on his intended marriage. Meanwhile the Countess presented him with her portrait, and on parting requested him to return. He set out in January, 1721, for Great Hennersdorf, and spoke of his intention with his grandmother. The latter felt some scruples, on account of her grandson's near relationship with the Countess Theodora; but was unwilling to raise objections on that score.

His mother's sentiments were already known to him. He had no doubt of her consent, and therefore set out on his return for Castell. Not far from Plauen, he was in imminent peril of his life, on passing the Elster, from which he was wonderfully delivered. He wrote from Plauen to Count Reuss, informing him of the accident, and the latter sent him a friendly invitation to Ebersdorf. He accepted it, and the wisdom of God revealed its secret intentions in the circumstance; for, soon after his arrival in Ebersdorf, the conversation turned upon the unavoidable necessity there was for Count Henry to marry. On being asked, Count Zinzendorf mentioned one young Countess after the other. But the Countess, his mother, observed, "that of all those who had been proposed, the Countess Theodora of Castell had been most commended; but she was not to be thought of, with the reason for which he, Count Z—, was the best acquainted."

At this speech, the Lord produced in the heart of the Count a resolution of rare occurrence, which was, voluntarily to resign the person he so ardently loved, to Count Henry, if he wished to have her, and to abstain from the claim he already had upon her. The more unexpected this declaration was, the more difficulty did Count Reuss feel in yielding to it. However, the former continued firm, and offered to do every thing in his power to promote the matter. When just on the point of departing from Count Reuss's mansion at Hirschberg, in Vogtland, and when the horses were already put to the carriage, he ordered them to be unharnessed, and proposed to Count Reuss immediately to take him with him. This offer was accepted, and unanimously recognised as the will of God.

The two noblemen therefore, accompanied by Mr. Von Bonin, set out for Castell, where they were received in a very friendly manner. The Count continued firm to his purpose of resigning all pretensions to the Countess Theodora, although it cost him much to tear away his heart entirely from her; and Count Reuss felt induced to pay his addresses to her. At his request, Count Z— first broke the matter to her mother and brother, after which the offer was made to the Countess Theodora. Many objections were raised, not so much with

respect to Count Reuss, as to Count Z— ; the former, however, at length obtained her consent.

Respecting the betrothment that followed, Mr. Von Bonin writes, that " Count Zinzendorf declared, in the presence of God, his complete consent, and wished the new couple every divine blessing; as well as concluded the ceremony with a moving prayer, which it was impossible to listen to without tears."

He travelled back again from Castell to Ebersdorf with Count Reuss, and remained there till Easter. In April 1721, he went to Pöelzig, to visit Count Henkel, whose society he states to have been beneficial to him. From thence he wrote a letter to the Bishop of Montpelier, in which he told him, " that he had hitherto acted like a hero in the unhappy affair of the appellants—that God, their heavenly Father, would daily enlighten them more in the truth for which they strove—that he had heard of the melancholy results of a horrible persecution against the poor Protestants, which the clergy in their neighbourhood had excited—that he did not accuse all; for he knew that Cardinal de Noailles regarded such persecutions as execrable, and that they, the appellants, also disapproved of them. Such persecutions, however, were no sign of the true church. He continually wondered that the appellants were left at liberty to pursue their course."

The Count's daily and nightly thoughts being directed to the means of finding some opportunity of serving God his Saviour, he went to Halle, with the intention of offering his services to the institutions there, in whatever way it might be thought fit to employ him. But before he could make the offer, Professor Franké seriously proposed to him, in the presence of many persons, to remain with him, and assist him in carrying on the work of faith with power, humility, and patience; since he had no other object than that of serving God. The Count heartily rejoiced at this proposal, accepted it with all readiness, with the condition, however, that the consent of his family should be first obtained. On which, Professor Franké bestowed his blessing upon him, with reference to all his sincere intentions, in the presence of various faithful witnesses, in May 1721.

This affair, however, was afterwards the cause of a temporary misunderstanding and estrangement between the Count and Franké, after the latter's good intentions to place the Count in the station occupied in Halle by Baron Von Canstein, had been rendered abortive, and the whole affair frustrated, by the refusal of the Count's friends and relatives, who had marked out a very different career for him.

He proceeded from Halle to Berlin, on a visit to his mother, and thus ended his travels for the time. The advantages derived from them were numerous. He was naturally cheerful, lively, able, and resolute. He had associated much with persons of distinction in Wittenberg, Holland, France, and Franconia; hence something superior was visible in his deportment. But, because he was tender and affectionate, and at the same time possessed, through grace, a lowliness of mind, his company was rendered extremely agreeable. He had seen the world and its glory to the best advantage; but God had preserved his heart, and secured it from sin. Having also an opportunity of associating with many people, who were as firm as they were zealous in their religion; and as he did not violently assault them, but modestly listened to them, he became much better acquainted, than is customary at universities, both with their principles, and the basis on which they built them. This made him more reasonable, yielding, and cautious, than young people generally are: but, what is more, he became acquainted with many truly pious people, both in the Romish and Reformed churches, whom he could not otherwise regard than as children of God. Hence he was most impressively and experimentally confirmed in the Lutheran doctrine: that the real church, which consists only of those who really believe in Jesus, and are thereby rendered children of God, is not confined to one place, but is scattered over the whole world. Besides, he found it highly reasonable to give every religion its due, and to judge of each according to the state of the case.

Being now again with his mother, after the lapse of so many years, he did not omit opening his mind to her fully. It cannot be denied, that much appeared incomprehensible to her; for she was of opinion, he ought, like his father, to devote himself to

the service of the State, as well as be a friend to good things, and a support to the pious. But he believed that this was connected with too many dangers, and tended too little to the honour of Jesus Christ, and the salvation of perishing men. The affair remained for a time undecided. Meanwhile he spent many a painful hour; for, since he expressed himself very candidly upon many points, both in word and writing, and it was seen that he thought otherwise than is customary with young noblemen similarly situated, he proved offensive to those whom he otherwise loved and esteemed. It also frequently happened, that what he undertook, from love to Christ and the desire to serve him, was severely commented upon by his friends. This pained him much, and he did all in his power to explain his conduct, but effected little by so doing. In other respects, I find that he conversed much with his mother, and ascertained her sentiments with respect to any possible change that might take place, as well as with regard to marriage and the arrangement of his domestic affairs.

He finished his minority on the 25th May, 1721.

CHAPTER II.

THE COUNT RESOLVES TO DEVOTE HIMSELF TO THE MINISTRY—SCRUPLES AGAINST FILLING CIVIL OFFICES, AND FINAL DETERMINATION—SENTIMENTS ON ENTERING INTO OFFICE—HESITATION ON TAKING RELIGIOUS OATHS—TAKES HIS SEAT IN THE GOVERNMENT—CONGRATULATED ON DOING SO BY PROFESSOR FRANKE—CONDUCT IN OFFICE, AND EFFORTS TO PROMOTE THE EDIFICATION OF OTHERS—MARRIAGE—ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST MORAVIAN EMIGRANTS—INTERVIEW WITH THE EMPEROR—DEPORTMENT TOWARDS THOSE OF DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS SENTIMENTS—STATE OF MIND—RESIGNS HIS SEAT IN THE GOVERNMENT.

On the completion of his minority, Count Zinzendorf left Berlin for Great Hennersdorf, where he was received by his grandmother with the tenderest affection. He felt most at home there, from having spent his earliest years in that place. He was much attached to Upper Lusatia, both on account of its natural and political situation. He had also made acquaintance with several pious persons in those parts, which he had diligently cherished, even whilst absent from them.

His situation, with respect to his relatives, was however somewhat peculiar. His grandmother was a pattern of cheerfulness, industry, and usefulness in old age. Two aged female relatives lived with her, and all of them expected that he should obey them like a child: he was therefore able to do little according to his own views.

He began, however, to arrange his domestic affairs, and took Mr. Heitz into his service, with whom he had become acquainted in Oberbirg; for he regarded him, not only as well fitted for a steward, but also as a man of piety and integrity. He likewise took a young man of the name of Larisch, and a youth called Tobias Frederick, whom he had brought with him from Ebersdorf, and had them instructed in Latin and other useful things. Heitz read the Bible with them, and sought to

make them acquainted with it in a simple manner. The Count himself instructed them in divinity, and had the satisfaction to perceive a work of grace upon their hearts.

He also held a devotional meeting every day at the manor-house, and, through the mercy of the Lord, those who attended it derived a real blessing from it. He commended his labours to the intercessions of his confidential friends, particularly of those at Ebersdorf; for he was exceedingly anxious to promote, by his efforts, the glory of God.

He was, however, desirous of having a place of his own, for the labour in which his soul delighted. He felt a particular relish for solitude and a country life, from which he expected much benefit for himself and others. He not only feared, but abhorred the world and its vain and evil ways. Hence it was his intention to purchase an estate, carefully preside over his domestic affairs, and faithfully attend to his vassals; hoping in this manner to escape from all the evils of high rank, without burying his talent.

It would certainly have been more agreeable to him, if his relatives would have consented to his devoting himself entirely to the study of divinity, and becoming a preacher of the gospel. He valued nothing so highly as the vocation he believed he possessed, to become a minister of the word, and to bring souls to Christ; by which he meant, the gracious impulse he had felt in his heart from a child, and which had increased every year, the more the love of Christ was rooted in him.

But this was something uncommon for persons of his rank in the Lutheran church; and his parents could not coincide with him, because of the hope they had cherished, that he would follow in the steps of his father, and fill some important office in the State, for the benefit of his country. They had nothing to oppose to his desire of serving the Saviour, or his zeal for the salvation of souls; for they themselves feared God and loved his word. But they were of opinion, that if he consented to enter into some civil employment, he would be able to do more good, with the talents he possessed, than if he became a preacher of the gospel, or lived as a private character.

This difference of sentiment was a painful trial to the Count.

He was unwilling to reject the advice of his parents, and yet he believed that what they required of him was not suitable for him, and would even expose him to the greatest dangers. He did not omit to express himself freely upon the subject, but he had chiefly recourse to prayers and tears.

In order to escape the urgent propositions of his relatives to accept a place at court, and to prepare the way for a less constrained mode of life, he gave himself some trouble to regain a certain imperial fee, to which he thought himself entitled. He also wrote to the Margravine of Brandenburg-Culmbach, and requested her advice with regard to his entering into the service of the State. However, she told him in reply, that he would do best to act according to the dictates of his own conscience.

Another cause of repugnance towards civil employment was the consideration, that in such a case he could not be of so much benefit to his vassals, nor be able to participate with them in their distresses.

The result of this long deliberation was, however, this, that from a principle of obedience to his parents, he finally consented to accept a seat in the government at Dresden, although this decision cost him many tears. On the 22d of October he left Hennersdorf for Dresden: during the whole of the way thither he continued outwardly in a profound calm, but his mind was considerably depressed; since he felt himself entirely unfit for such a situation.

Some weeks after his arrival in Dresden he was appointed a member of the government, with the title of Aulic and Justicial Councillor.

He then took the firm resolution to cleave, by Divine grace, to Christ, the ground of his hopes; and to confess him so boldly, in word and deed, as to divest the world of all hope of inducing him to alter his views. He also resolved seriously to continue his chief object,—the preaching of the gospel, and to seek repose in the society of the poor and simple children of God.

Before the Count took the religious oath, customary in Saxony, on entering into office, he felt obliged to study, in retirement, the articles of faith of the Lutheran church, to

which the oath has reference. He then visited the vice-chancellor, requested the formula of the oath, and considered, in the presence of the Saviour, and with fervent prayer, what he ought to do in the matter. On going over the formula of the oath once more with a friend, he declared that he had his scruples concerning it; for, although he did not wish to make any objection to the articles of faith of the Lutheran church, yet certain explanations were given in them which he did not understand; he therefore did not feel at liberty to swear to them indefinitely. But as he did not trust to himself in the matter, he requested a little time, to take the advice of impartial divines and persons of discernment, on the subject.

When this had been done, he gave in a written declaration in what sense he could take the religious oath; after which he really took it.

But the idea occurred to him, in these circumstances, whether it would not be better for him to go to Copenhagen, and accept service in Denmark; always premising, however, that he would not forestal the Divine guidance. He even actually set out for Copenhagen, before doing his duty in Dresden, in order, through the influence of some persons of rank who were known to him, to procure an engagement from the Crown-Prince, whom he highly esteemed; hoping, by this, to satisfy both his relatives and his own conscience. But this journey was interrupted and frustrated by the interference of his grandmother.

After a short excursion to visit his relatives in Hennersdorf, he took his seat, before the end of the year, as a member of the government. He informed his dear friend, Professor Franké, of the circumstance, and commended himself to his remembrance and his prayers. The latter wrote to him, under date 19th January, 1722, as follows:—"I first of all congratulate you on your entering into office; though I will not content myself with merely doing so, but, with Divine assistance, will fulfil your desires, both to remember you in my prayers before God, as well as heartily to recommend you to other children of God for the same purpose, in the manner you have pointed out. I assure you that your letter has afforded me heartfelt pleasure; and I feel convinced that as

long as you continue in such a state of mind, no one will prove an injury to you. For the placing no dependence upon ourselves is the way to unceasing prayer, and prayer is the way to trust God for every thing."

No sooner had the Count entered into office, than he very earnestly solicited that he might be employed solely in matters of citation. On Chancellor Von Bunow's giving him the assurance that he would remember him with reference to this, he firmly abided by it on his part; and purposely neglecting all the functions in which individuals similarly situated distinguish themselves, he did little more, from 1722 till 1727, than conciliate a couple of poor peasants with their squire, and spent the rest of his time in Dresden, as often as opportunity presented itself, in commending the merits of his Saviour, and the sweetness of his love, to as many of his colleagues and friends as would listen to him, as well as to clergy and laity, and even to separatists and followers of Gichtel.*

On this subject he writes:—"It was only in Dresden that I was able, without any opposition from my spiritual and temporal superiors, to hold a meeting with open doors, which any one might attend. That which was singular in it was, that I was a preacher, who, from obedience to his parents, wore a sword, and took part in the government; but whose real element, even then, was the preaching of the gospel. I had mentioned, before I went thither, the inconvenience that would arise from representing a character so strange to me; hence the worthy superintendent of Dresden, Dr. Löscher, had compassion upon the gift I was obliged to suppress, and let me act as I pleased."

In addition to the above, we must also mention the Count's intercourse with all kinds of people, who, he imagined, were concerned for their salvation; and in this respect he made no difference with regard to rank; for the word of the Lord, "The poor have the gospel preached unto them," had made a deep impression upon him. The words of the Apostle, "Not

* An individual of extraordinary piety, who led a life of faith and prayer, which, however, from its singularity, cannot be held up as a pattern for Christians in general.

many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called," (1 Cor. i. 26—28,) were ever present to his mind. When he met with people who erred in some points, but respecting whom he could perceive that they were seeking salvation, he did not withdraw himself from them. Amongst others, his acquaintance was sought by a whole company of people who did not attend church, and entertained a variety of strange notions. He was aware that by associating with them he would render himself suspected, and bring disgrace upon himself; but because he found several sincere individuals amongst them, and was convinced that they would forego their errors if treated with caution and affection, he did not let this consideration deter him; and had the satisfaction, before four years were expired, to see that many of these people not only attended his meetings, but also went again to church, and silently interred their erroneous principles, for which they would before have probably laid down their lives.

He also composed, during this period, several hymns and spiritual poems.

It was at that time very customary to speak of the deficiencies of the Lutheran church. Many even believed that another reformation was desirable; and it cannot be denied that the Count participated in this idea, as well as many of his pious friends; for being inclined, without much hesitation, to adopt the views and good wishes of those teachers for whom he had a high esteem, they had drawn him into their ideas.

He saw, however, before entering into the ministry, that he was not called to employ his powers in such a reformation as was wished for by many divines. It was also obvious to him, that little benefit would arise from introducing a stricter ecclesiastical discipline; for he was firmly convinced, that though an amendment might be produced in the exterior of those who did not possess the love of Christ in the heart, yet that in many instances it would be the means of protracting conversion.

He therefore confessed, that until the year 1726, he had thought, with other divines, such a reformation desirable, but that since that time his views had suffered a change, and he regarded himself as unfit for such an occupation.

Meanwhile his heart burned with desire to serve his Lord and Saviour, and to be useful to his neighbour. The winning souls for Christ, and the labouring in his spiritual kingdom, he regarded as his real vocation; but the other as a thing of minor importance, or a trial of his patience.

The devout wishes with which many excellent men had left this world without witnessing the fulfilment of them, seemed always of importance to him. But he believed the time was now arrived boldly to commence the matter, and seriously to seek that which had been previously only wished for. He was resolved to venture upon it, and suffer nothing in the world to hinder him.

His intentions were briefly these:—Faithfully to take charge of poor souls, for whom Christ had shed his blood, and especially to collect together and protect those that were oppressed and persecuted. He had also in view the fellowship of the children of God; and he endeavoured by all means to promote love and unanimity amongst those who were awakened and called to the kingdom of God.

For the accomplishment of these objects he resolved to purchase an estate, in order to which it was necessary for him to take into his own hands the property inherited from his parents. He had used nothing of it until his sixteenth year, and hence the interest had accumulated to a capital. Vice-Chancellor Ritter, who was his guardian with respect to his property, refunded what was due to him as capital and interest; besides which he had other sums to receive on several estates. But upon inquiring about them, difficulties were made. He was clearly given to understand, that being a disciple of Jesus, it was not expected that he would cleave to or strive about money and property; against which he had nothing to object: he therefore gave up what was not easily conceded to him; the rest was paid over to him, and thus all litigation was avoided.

He then proceeded to the purchase of Bertholdsdorf, where he had already begun to build a house. Homage was done him as lord of the manor, on his arrival there, the 19th May, 1722.

Over the entrance to his house, which he called BETHEL, he placed the following inscription:—

"As guests we only here remain;
And hence this house is slight and plain.
"Therefore 'Turn to the strong hold, ye prisoners of hope!'—*Zech.* ix. 12.
"We have a better house above,
And there we fix our warmest love."

Immediately after the purchase of Bertholdsdorf, the living became vacant, and the Count nominated John Andrew Rothe to it, a candidate for the ministry, whom he had known the year before in Hennersdorf, and had immediately destined him, in faith, to be his future assistant in the gospel in that district. He observes respecting him, that "he never saw his like again." But before he gave him the living, he sent for him to Dresden, and procured permission for him to preach in the church of St. Sophia, where he not only heard him himself, but also requested other gentlemen to hear him, and give their opinions of him; "for," said he, "the calling of a preacher is important in its consequences, and therefore worthy of mature consideration."

Mr. Rothe accepted the offer, and was ordained to the ministerial office in Leipzic.

After the Count had arranged his domestic concerns in Upper Lusatia, he began to think seriously of marrying. But before he came to any determination respecting the person, he reflected thoroughly on the marriage-state in the presence of God. There was no want of people, at that time, who thought ill of marriage, and did not shun to declare it to be something impure and unsuitable for a child of God. Hence the Count was anxious to attain to a full conviction upon the subject, in order that he might afterwards proceed with confidence. The Bible furnished him with clear instructions, and he likewise applied to Jesus Christ, the friend of his heart, and besought his gracious direction. He also conferred with other children of God, who were able to advise him on the subject. He says respecting it, in a letter to his mother, "I by no means take up the matter slightly, but regard it as of great importance, and as a thing on which my future life depends." He also affirms, that he should continue single, were he to follow the

inclination which reflection upon the subject had produced. But as he had often perceived, that those who had rejected a divine call to marriage, and remained single, had plunged themselves into danger, he had resolved to marry, in the full conviction that it was the will of God.

Being thus satisfied in his own heart, he wished also for Divine direction in the choice of a consort, who necessarily required to be such a one as would be suited for that vocation, to which he felt himself called.

He fixed upon the Countess Erdmuth Dorothea, a sister of his friend Count Reuss; and, after corresponding with his relatives and the Countess's mother, he travelled to Ebersdorf to bring the matter to an issue. The betrothment took place on the 16th of August, and the marriage was solemnized on the 7th of September, in the presence of a numerous assembly of the relatives of both parties.

He spoke very plainly to his consort, both before and after marriage, and told her all his mind. He said, that he desired to live not for himself, but for his neighbour, and for God in Christ; that he was heartily disgusted with the vanities of the world; that if the Saviour would make use of him, he was willing to take his staff in his hand, and go amongst the heathen, to preach Christ to them; and that he would not seek to please men, but boldly incur the reproach of Christ. At the same time, in order to free himself from every hinderance, he presented the whole of his property to his lady, even before marriage.

He regarded the marriage of the children of God in no other light than as an image of the union of Christ with his church: and premising this from Scripture (Eph. v. 22, &c.), he deduced from it every thing which was to be observed by both parties.

Before he left Dresden for Ebersdorf, he received intelligence respecting some exiles who had arrived in Upper Lusatia from Moravia. I will not here repeat what is related in Cranz's History of the Moravians, but cannot avoid mentioning something of what gave rise to it.

Christian David, of Senftleben, in Moravia, was an extraordinary man, for whose memory I have much respect.

When a child of only eight years of age, he sought rest for his soul, and did all he could, according to the advice of those to whom he had complained of his distress, but in vain. As he grew up, he went upon his travels, and arrived at Göerlitz as a journeyman mechanic, where he heard the things spoken of, after which his soul longed. He now began to search the Scriptures diligently, and zealously confessed the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. He became acquainted with Count Zinzendorf, at the house of the master of the horse in Schweinitz, and stated to him the oppressive situation of the brethren in Moravia. On seeing his zeal for the Lord, and how willing he was to receive those who were oppressed for conscience' sake, he returned to Moravia, and spoke with his friends, telling them that this nobleman would probably receive them: for he was not ignorant of their intention to leave their native land, and seek a place where they could live according to their consciences, in obedience to the truth, with which, by God's grace, they had been made acquainted. The brethren in Moravia, who had already been deliberating whether to remove to Hungary or Siebenbürgen, were glad of this intelligence; and the two Neissers immediately resolved, with their wives and children, to go with Christian David to Upper Lusatia.

On the 17th of June, 1722, the exiles began their building by felling the first tree. The Count was informed of this, whilst in Ebersdorf, by Mr. Rothe, who visited him there, and brought with him a petition from the exiles, in which they say, "We are under great concern, lest we should be burdensome to you with this building. We most humbly entreat you to take us into your gracious protection; to assist us, poor, afflicted, and simple people, and to treat us with kindness and affection. We will entreat Almighty God to bless you in body and soul for so doing," &c.

The Count's first intention was, that the Moravian exiles should settle at Köestritz, near Reichenfeld, which he intended to rent for that purpose; but after much deliberation, he came to the resolution to settle these strangers on his own estates, and appointed the whole revenue of the manor of Bertholdsdorf for that purpose.

Meanwhile, the necessary preparations had been made at Dresden, by his grandmother, for the reception of himself and his consort. Baron Frederick Von Wattewille also arrived there, and had the pleasure of conducting his old friend and his consort into their habitation.

Though the Count now resided in Dresden, yet he made arrangements, from the first, to spend some time in Upper Lusatia. To this there was no objection in Dresden; on the contrary, every means were used to render a court-life tolerable, if not agreeable to him. But as he always bore in mind the words, "The friendship of the world is enmity with God," he could not be prevailed upon to do any thing contrary to his conscience. Amongst other things, the friendly advice was given him, not to refuse, when invited to certain amusements at court, because he would only get himself into trouble, by slighting the king's commands. This advice was supported by a variety of well-meant arguments. But he boldly affirmed, that he had resolved, after due consideration, never to be present at such amusements; and he should be glad if this would satisfy them; if not, he commended the result to God. And this determination he steadfastly maintained and practised.

He was likewise embarrassed by the good intentions of his friends, who would gladly have advanced him to more honourable stations. He declared in writing, "that he begged them not to do so; especially as it was reported he was to be made chamberlain; that he was utterly unfit for such an office, which required a man of the world, and of worldly wisdom;—for he was neither. But he was heartily desirous of becoming a child of God and a true Christian; and such characters had an abhorrence of the pleasures of a court, and the glories of the world."

Whilst he resided in Dresden, the meetings continued to be held in his house on Sundays, at the usual time, which was from three o'clock till seven, and consisted, in reality, in nothing else but an edifying and very friendly conversation upon some chapter in the New Testament, which was succeeded by prayer and singing. The Count wrote respecting these assemblies, "We are glad in the Lord, and young and old

sit together like little children. We patiently bear with those amongst us who are desirous of being thought learned, and seek by example to teach them better."

Besides seeing these friends on a Sunday, he soon entered into closer connexion with them. Whoever required advice in any thing, came to him. His consort acted as his faithful helpmate towards those of her own sex who were concerned for their salvation. The blessing of the Lord rested on his labours, and he was soon overloaded with employment of that nature; but was firmly resolved, as long as God granted him strength, joyfully to devote it to his service.

Towards the end of December, 1722, he travelled for the first time with his consort to his estates in Upper Lusatia. On leaving Strahwalde, a village near Bertholdsdorf, he saw in the wood, near the road, a house which he was told was the one built on his estate for the Moravians. He joyfully entered it, welcomed them cordially, fell upon his knees with them, returned thanks to God, and blessed the place with a warm heart. He entreated the Lord to extend his hand over the house, encouraged its inhabitants, and assured them of the favour and faithfulness of God. Mr. Heitz had previously consecrated the house, and delivered an address on the occasion, from Isaiah lxii. 6, 7. Previous to the arrival of the clergyman, he had also faithfully and powerfully strengthened these first founders of Herrnhut, when their faith grew weak.

The Count's most anxious concern was now that all his vassals might become acquainted with their Lord and Saviour. He was glad to have, at Bertholdsdorf, a preacher whose labours were attended with success. The impressive words of the Rev. Mr. Schäefer, at the introduction of Mr. Rothe, "God will place a light upon these hills, which will illuminate the whole country; of this I am assured by a living faith," already began to be verified. Our Count rejoiced at it, and gladly did his part for the promotion and extension of the blessing imparted. From his childhood up, he had entered into Spener's ideas of an amendment of the church, and was now desirous of commencing the work according to them. "That which first gave rise to the institutions in Upper Lusatia, was Spener's idea of planting little churches in the great church."

He agreed with Mr. Rothe to become his assistant and catechist, and courageously commenced the work. Respecting this he expresses himself clearly, in a letter written some years after, to an eminent divine. He says, "With respect to the application of my talents, they have been devoted to God, from my childhood, for the preaching of the gospel. Hence I do not see why the office of a student, catechist, and unordained divine should not be granted me; and, since it is not filled without grace and blessing from above, why it should not rather be promoted than hindered. I hope, at the same time, through the grace of my Saviour, always to act faithfully in it, and neither as a sectarian nor a schismatic; to cause no offence nor reproach to the religion in which I have been born and bred, but, on the contrary, to promote it in a christian manner, and to contribute something, however trifling that may be, to the tabernacle of the Lord."

The Count having in view Spener's idea of a reformation of the church, took it for granted, that its accomplishment was to be by means of a faithful repetition and promulgation of Luther's evangelical doctrines, as contained in the Holy Scriptures, and the Augsburg Confession. It was for this purpose that he had appointed Mr. Rothe to the living of Bertholdsdorf, and prepared himself also, with all earnestness, for accomplishing the same object.

But, in speaking of Luther's doctrines, I do not allude to all the minor points and controversial questions which are usually introduced into systems of divinity. For, since the latter are calculated to hinder rather than advance the simple-hearted individual in the way of life, whilst seeking salvation, as experience proves, the Count preferred keeping the people, for whose salvation he was concerned, in ignorance of them.

But in all the points which are requisite to be known, in order to our eternal salvation, he was not only heartily attached, during his whole life, to those evangelical doctrines, to which a Lutheran Christian must cleave, by the grace of God, at the hazard of his life and property, but he also faithfully endeavoured to impress them upon others.

Although the Count had no inclination for worldly matters, yet he could not avoid acting as chief magistrate in Bertholds-

dorf. "It is the truth," says he, "that as long as I was so, I filled this office with punctuality, kindness, and undisputed authority towards every one."

Respecting the ideas which governed him in doing so, I will only mention the following:—"A man ought to look to God himself, in order to see how he governs the world, and learn from him how to govern, whether he have little or much to superintend." Taking every thing according to the letter and spirit of the law, and judging in this manner, without using our own discretion, seemed to him more human than divine: having patience with certain individuals, as long as they were not injurious and did not seduce others, and when it was requisite to punish, always having regard to the person's amendment and their soul's salvation, was what he delighted in. In other respects, he believed that rulers had no power over the consciences of men—God had reserved to himself the dominion over the heart; nothing but misery and abominable hypocrisy was the result, when rulers exerted their power in matters of conscience.

He carried on a diligent correspondence with his friends, that year, and cordially sympathised with them in all that befel them: he wrote, in particular, several letters to Cardinal de Noailles, from which I will only quote what he says of himself. He asserts with great boldness, that he founds his religion solely on the Scriptures, which reveal the corruption of human nature, and also point out its cure: he believes in the divine truths contained in the Bible, and takes them for the rule of his life: his sentiments were expressed in the words, "Except a man be born again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." "Whosoever forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple." "My sheep hear my voice, and they follow me," &c. "Moses esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt." "Ye are bought with a price, therefore glorify God in your bodies and spirits, which are His." "Know ye not that your body is a temple of the Holy Ghost?" For this reason he sought to escape from the corruptions which are in the world through lust.

The Cardinal's reply afforded him an opportunity of com-

municating his sentiments respecting the new heart, and how, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we must become entirely different persons to what we are by nature and disposition.

It is only reasonable, that I commence the narrative of occurrences in the year 1723, with the Count's cordial connexion with several individuals with whom the Lord brought him into contact. Rothe, a man of incomparable talents and excellent theological knowledge, whose preaching was very powerful, and who was as zealous in his office as he was useful, was the first to unite with him in the Lord's service: he made him more intimately acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Schäefer, of Göerlitz, who, as a faithful preacher, had suffered much reproach for the sake of Christ, and was Mr. Rothe's intimate friend. The Count immediately made a covenant with him, mutually to assist in building the walls of Zion, under the protection of Jesus. To these was added Baron Frederick Von Wattewille, with whom he had formed a bond of friendship in Halle, founded on the love of Jesus, and had subsequently renewed and confirmed it. This nobleman was happily rescued, by the mercy of God, from the wretchedness into which he had fallen, "through philosophy and vain deceit, and not after Christ." He came to Bertholdsdorf in 1722, and was heartily devoted to the service of the Saviour. These are the four "united brethren," whose history, from 1723 to 1727, exists in manuscript.

It is evident, from a poem of the Count's, that this heartfelt connexion was of the greatest importance to him: it took its rise before the arrival of the brethren from Moravia, in May 1724, of which more in the sequel. Hence he did not found his claim to the institution of similar alliances for the honour of his Lord and Saviour, and the benefit of his fellow-men, upon the statutes of the Moravian church, of which he knew little or nothing at that time, but upon the spiritual priesthood, which he had in common with all true Christians.

The objects of this bond of union were:—

1. The plain, simple, believing, and consolatory preaching of

the gospel: in the accomplishment of this, besides seeking to convince their hearers, their chief object was, to speak the word with demonstration of the Spirit, and with power. They resolved not to occupy themselves with minor points, but insist chiefly on that which tended to edification. For this the Count was particularly anxious.

2. To neglect no opportunity of bearing testimony in other places concerning Jesus, as the only way to life. Therefore, when there was occasion to undertake a journey, they made it a rule not to avoid it, that they might be able to sow the good seed elsewhere. And since they had from time to time made acquaintance with many individuals of all ranks, not only in Germany, but also in Holland, France, England, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, &c. and continued to do so, they resolved, in their correspondence, to bear testimony to the Spirit of Jesus. However laborious this might be, yet it was rendered useful, and richly rewarded them for their trouble. The Count was particularly active, and almost indefatigable in it.

3. They made it also an object of primary concern to promote the printing of various useful and edifying works, and to publish them at a very low rate, that the poor might be benefited by them.

4. They considered how they might be useful, not only to the Lutherans, but also to those of other persuasions. Besides this, as some emigrants from Moravia had already settled upon the Count's estates, he felt himself bound faithfully to patronize them—the more so, as many are more injured than benefited by emigration.

5. They deliberated also upon providing schools for the education of children in a christian-like manner. The Count, though disinclined to it in his own judgment, suffered himself to be induced by his friends, some of whom insisted much upon it, to participate in the proposal, and furthered the matter to the best of his ability; of which more in the sequel.

In order that these objects might be attained, the united brethren found it necessary frequently to converse together upon them; on which occasions, it was just as if they thought aloud—that is, they told each other what their hearts dictated,

with an unusual freedom. These conversations obtained the name of conferences, which name was subsequently retained by the brethren to indicate meetings for mutual deliberation.

These conferences of the united brethren were intended not only for the purpose of thinking unanimously on the subjects brought before them, but also of speaking upon them in a similar manner. Truth was their object, and they were desirous of attaining to certainty; therefore, not only the reasons in favour of a thing, but the objections which might be brought against it, were expressed without hesitation.

This startled others who occasionally attended, and who did not so clearly perceive how necessary and useful it was. The Count himself, when objections went so far that he feared the truth in Christ Jesus might be prejudiced, was frequently so embarrassed, that he wept bitterly. Sometimes he even sought retirement, cast himself at his Saviour's feet, and renewed his covenant with him, to adhere to the doctrine of his cross, though every one besides should prove unfaithful.

However, he did not think it advisable to break up these conferences, but to continue them in patience and hope. He would have been glad if the substance of them could have been written down, because many things were brought forward in them which not only served to promote conviction, but were also edifying to the heart. He would not permit it, however, lest the free current of thought and language, from which, with all the unpleasantness attached to it, he promised himself much good, should be thereby in any manner restrained.

We have already observed, that the Count had appointed himself deacon or catechist to the Rev. Mr. Rothe. The latter was wont, after the sermon on Sunday and the catechization were over, to commence a conversation in the church with his hearers, in which every one was at liberty openly to state his sentiments on the subject spoken of, or to ask questions relative to it; and this conversation was concluded with prayer. Immediately afterwards, the Count, who also attended the conversation, and contributed his part towards it, was accustomed to edify those present with pleasing hymns, or verses from several hymns which were appropriate to the subject;

and at the same time, Tobias Frederick, who had a peculiar talent for music, performed on the organ.

When this was over, the congregation again assembled in a hall, in the mansion of the Count; when the latter, in the presence of the clergyman, repeated the sermon which had been preached in the forenoon; in such a manner, however, that the clergyman, or some other person, frequently made additions to it. These repetitions, which the Count commenced this year, and continued till 1730, enjoyed a particular divine blessing.

A rich opportunity being thus afforded to the inhabitants of Bertholdsdorf, as well as the new settlers at Herrnhut, of hearing the gospel, and as it also manifested its power in many cases, the united brethren were desirous of attending faithfully to these awakened individuals. For this purpose, Mr. Rothe assembled them together, and spoke with them on the Saviour's dealings with those who had attained to life from God. Besides which, Baron Von Wattewille, who had undertaken a great part of the correspondence, laboured much in private intercourse with the new converts.

It may in general be said, that the ideas which the Count had formed, increasingly developed themselves during this period, and became the rule of his future mode of thinking and acting.

The first work he published, after his connexion with Mr. Rothe, was his little Catechism, which was planned by the Count himself, and, as he asserts, proved more laborious to him than any of his other writings; for he endeavoured to state the divine truths which are necessary to salvation in so simple a manner, that even a child might understand them; and this was a labour to which he was unaccustomed.

He then went through it with Mr. Rothe, to see if every thing was so clearly expressed as to be intelligible to a child. Mr. Rothe, who was better acquainted with the phraseology of poor children, altered several expressions, which startled the Count, although he suffered him to do so.

The question now was, whether the Catechism should be published in his name. He foresaw, that if this were the case, he would draw down much ridicule upon himself. He was

not inclined, however, to abstain from it, remembering the words of Paul, "We are fools for Christ's sake."

It was therefore printed, and soon became so rare, that it was sold for a florin. It really happened as the Count had foreseen; people made themselves merry over it, and scoffed at it not a little, which was chiefly occasioned by the alterations of Mr. Rothe. The Count might easily have avoided this, by immediately making known the true state of the case; but because Mr. Rothe was in the ministry, and preached the gospel, he spared him, and preferred bearing the whole affair himself. The contempt it drew upon him removed from the minds of many the suspicion, that he was forming great projects: since they now regarded him only as a teacher of children; and to this he did not object, since it enabled him quietly to do good.

He also wrote a treatise about this time, "On the use of Words," which, though small, is the result of mature reflection; and of which he says, "I never look at this simple little treatise without pleasure, for God has blessed it." The occasion of it was an impression whilst reading in Matt. xv. respecting that which defiles men, in connexion with the passage, "For every idle word which men shall speak, they shall give an account unto God."

To these treatises was added a tract, entitled, "The Olive-leaf of Peace, sent to the Children of God;" the substance of which is, that Jesus Christ has purchased every blessing for us, and that we, by faith, participate in his merits. Hence believers ought to regard themselves in, and not out of Christ, by doing which, love, peace, and every blessing will ensue. The style is animated, free, and the sentiments strictly Lutheran.

On the 15th of March, this year, Baron Frederick Von Wattewille was arrested in Great Hennersdorf, and taken to Dresden, in consequence of a letter, in his hand-writing, to a gentleman in Dresden, with whom both he and the Count were acquainted, but who, entirely unknown to them, had committed murder, and was in prison for it. The letter came into the hands of the magistracy, who, mistaking some expressions in it, suspected the Baron of being privy to it. The Count laboured to procure his liberation; and as it was not

difficult for him to prove his friend's innocence, he soon succeeded. I would not pass over this circumstance unnoticed; since it had a peculiar effect upon the Count, who, not knowing what was intended by the Baron's arrest, retired to a place in Bohemia, where he remained awhile, and employed his time in reflecting, before God, upon the whole of his life; and the Lord vouchsafed him an undoubted certainty, that he had destined him for his service.

After the Count had spent some months in Upper Lusatia, he returned to Dresden, assured, in his heart, that he was not destined for worldly affairs. However, he could not avoid coming into contact with many persons who were not of his sentiments. He did not avoid their company, but everywhere sought to confess Jesus Christ, and in this manner to promote his cause.

He was invited by a certain gentleman to dine with him on his birth-day, the 26th May. He went, though ignorant what kind of company he should meet there. Whilst sitting at table, and discoursing on a variety of subjects, one of the company went so far as to blaspheme Christ and his doctrine. This was a dagger to the heart of the Count, who, apprehensive that from a tongue thus "set on fire of hell," more such expressions would proceed, did not enter into a dispute with him, but rose up from table, horrified, and withdrew, saying, he was of no use in such company.

He went home, and was so inwardly grieved at what he had heard, that he seized his pen, and wrote a poem, expressive of his profound abhorrence of such impious language. He entreated the Lord in it, that if such people spurned his grace, and if there was no hope of their repentance, to make an example of them, that others might be deterred from acting in a similar manner.

Before a year expired, this very individual, whilst using similar disgraceful language at the same table, was struck with paralysis, so as to be unable to utter a word more, and thus died miserably.

The Count took occasion, from this event, impressively to point out, in a serious letter, to all who were present on the occasion, what they had to expect, unless they became converted characters.

Thus he grew increasingly bold and courageous in the fulfilment of his determination, to confess Jesus Christ before all the world, without distinction. He continued to hold his meetings in Dresden, which any one was at liberty to attend, both on Sundays and week days; and the chief subject of his discourses on these occasions was, godliness in Christ Jesus.

The number of the inhabitants of Herrnhut increased. The Count had already granted permission for the erection of several houses, near those already built, for eighteen additional emigrants. These new inhabitants did not, at first, possess the views which the Lord, in the sequel, afforded them at Herrnhut. They fell into needless disputes with each other, upon subjects which did not in reality belong to the fundamental doctrine of salvation by Christ. Both the Count and Mr. Rothe took pains to settle these differences, but in different ways. The latter refuted their ideas in public and in private, and opposed arguments to arguments; but the only result was, that the people were only the more confirmed in their opinions, and were much more warm in defending them. The Count, at that time, was very tolerant towards such as were in error, and, notwithstanding his natural warmth of temper, listened to all they had to say, and agreed with them as far as he could do so, consistent with truth. He expressed his doubts at the same time, but did so generally in few words, in which he avoided every thing of a violent nature. By this he gained their hearts, and had the pleasure, on the 7th of November, of receiving the sacrament in Bertholdsdorf with twenty-three persons, who were united in christian fellowship.

The Count travelled, the same summer, in company with Baron Von Wattewille and Mr. Schäefer, to Silesia, and visited, amongst others, Baron Von Hocnberg, on which occasion he was much affected by an emphatic description of the wretchedness of the followers of Schwenkfeld, who dwelt on his domain, and was induced to prepare several documents for them to the Imperial court, as well as afterwards to interfere on their behalf himself.

In September, the Count undertook a journey to Prague, accompanied by Baron Von Wattewille: it was at the time of the coronation of the Emperor Charles VI. He arrived

on the 16th of that month in Brandeis, where their Imperial Majesties were, and was treated with distinguished favour. In a private audience with the Emperor, he was enabled to make a sincere confession of Jesus Christ and his love, and to encourage that monarch, fearlessly, though with profound respect, to cleave in all things, by faith and prayer, to God, which the Emperor received very graciously. On coming, in the address, to the title "Most Invincible," he took the liberty of altering it to "Invincible Emperor, through confidence in God." As often as he boldly confessed Jesus in his speech, the Emperor testified great reverence for this most holy name. Baron Von Wattewille relates, that the Emperor listened to his address with closed eyes and great attention, and assured him of his protection with a very satisfied air. The Empress, of whom the Count had also a particular audience, assured him likewise, in a very gracious manner, of her favour. Her father, the Duke of Blankenburg, also honoured the Count with marks of particular distinction, in the presence of the whole court. As much as the Count disesteemed the world, so much was he honoured by it, and preferred even to those of higher rank than himself, who gave themselves much trouble to obtain those marks of distinction, which the Count sought as much as possible to avoid. The Baron adds, "His conduct during this journey has edified me much, and shown me qualities in him, with which I was previously unacquainted."

The Count now took an opportunity of speaking expressly with the Imperial Minister of State, respecting the followers of Schwenkfeld. These people have their name from Caspar Schwenkfeld, a Silesian gentleman, who lived in the time of Luther, and made himself known by his writings and peculiar sentiments, and who resided many years in Silesia, in a quiet, orderly, and industrious manner. Incited by some Lutheran preachers, the Catholic clergy were induced, with the permission of the magistracy, to use these people with severity, in order to make them change their religious views: but they were willing rather to forsake every thing than act against their consciences.

The Count, finding from the minister that the followers of Schwenkfeld would be compelled to emigrate, took occasion,

during his stay in Brandeis, to intercede for them in a letter to the Emperor himself.

The Duke of Blankenburg, who had recommended the Count's affair of the Imperial fee to the minister of the Duke of Brunswick, took him with him to visit Count Von Spork, at his summer residence, called Bon Repos, who presented the Count with some valuable writings; one of which, entitled "A Representation of the True Church," he commends as an excellent work, the freedom of expression in which excited his astonishment.

After his return from Prague, the Count took into serious consideration with his united brethren the proposal to establish a printing-press, for the purpose of disseminating useful works at a low price amongst the poor. His grandmother contributed towards the undertaking, which was carried into effect, and a printing-press erected in Upper Lusatia: it was afterwards removed to Ebersdorf, under the protection of Count Reuss, until 1724. Some small treatises of Professor Franké's, the Psalms of David, the New Testament, the whole Bible, with several other works, were printed there, below the usual price, for the benefit of the poor.

The Count corresponded the same year with Professor Franké, on the union of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. Some divines had proposed an union of the Protestant confessions of faith; but others were opposed to it, and amongst these was Professor Franké. His objections had weight with the Count, who concludes a letter to the former, as follows:— "Having obtained my object, I have now so much the more reason to abandon the affair, and in future to assist in praying, that God would himself interfere on behalf of his church, and bind together the staff Ephraim and the staff Judah."

It has been observed, that on occasions of unusual awakenings, the adversary is busy in sowing tares amongst the wheat; and such was the case at this time in Upper Lusatia. Several individuals took up a variety of strange opinions, and spared no pains to draw others into them also. All these persons took part against the Count, who had astonishing patience with them, until the first Commission in Hernnhut in 1732, and sought by gentle methods to convince them of their errors.

Those whom he succeeded in restoring, became the objects of his cordial affection, and he thought no more of what had passed. His chief care was, prudently to prevent others from receiving injury, and being involved in similar errors. To the attainment of this, he employed all diligence and fidelity, and God gave his blessing to his efforts.

The Count had a particular gift of singing hymns extemporaneously, without previous reflection or composition. These were suggested to him with such ease, that he was able to sing them alone on public or private occasions. When it was afterwards seen how they burst from his heart in such easy, lively, and perspicuous language, as well as in such correct and scriptural terms, people began to copy them down. In the second volume of the London edition of the Moravian Hymn-book, there is a considerable number of this description. I mention this, because it is in this year that I first meet with any thing of the kind.

On the 14th February, he began to revise the Hymn-book of the Bohemian brethren: this was the commencement of his poetical labours, which only terminated with his blissful departure out of this life.

The Count left his estates in November, and spent the following six months in Dresden. From a letter which he wrote at that time, it is evident that he was not without anxiety respecting the continual emigration of the Moravians: for, although it took place without exciting the sensation usual on such occasions, yet he was apprehensive of movements under a religious pretext. He also faithfully warned them against inducing any one to emigrate from Moravia. "He who does not leave his country solely on account of conscience, will find it difficult to stand the test, in the troubles through which he must necessarily pass. It is certainly wrong to induce any one to emigrate, for he must not expect worldly advantage by so doing; and with respect to spiritual, there is no less corruption in the life and conversation of Protestants, than in other places."

His conduct, in the reception of emigrants from Moravia, was founded on charity and equity, governed by prudence. He

caused all the new comers to be strictly examined, as to their motives for leaving their native country. If it was evident that they had left it for conscience' sake, he could not, and would not, refuse them. But if it appeared that this was not their only incentive, and that they had other ends in view, he was totally disinclined to have any thing to do with them. He opposed, with much firmness, the project of some to return to Moravia, in order to bring others back with them. But if those did so, who thought they were obliged, from love to Jesus Christ and their relatives, to expose themselves to danger—for if caught they were sent to prison—or even believed they were divinely impelled to it, as in the case of Christian David, he did not forcibly restrain them, although he strongly objected to the measure.

The united brethren now began to take into serious consideration the support of the Moravians, who were either already in Herrnhut, or else expected there. Not only was there a want of dwelling-houses, but also of a suitable place to hold their meetings. Baron Von Wattewille resided at that time in Herrnhut, and took great pleasure in the company of the poor emigrants. They afforded him an opportunity for much filial intercourse with our Lord Jesus Christ. His heart, by this means, became inflamed with love, which induced him to take the resolution of interesting himself for them with all fidelity. He therefore determined, from the impulse of his own heart, to apply, not only for more habitations, but also for a meeting-house, and use every effort in his power for that purpose. He conferred on the subject with Schäefer and Rothe, and found that their ideas coincided with his own; but they wished, at the same time, that in building a meeting-house, a school for the education of the sons of nobility should be also considered, and the edifice was accordingly planned. The Count, who had meanwhile returned to Upper Lusatia, would have been glad if no mention had been made of such like seminaries; but, from motives of esteem, and deference to the opinions of his brethren, he consented to promote the proposed arrangements.

The foundation for the intended building was therefore laid on the 12th of May, 1724, in the presence of God, and confiding in his good pleasure. The Count and M. Schäefer had arrived from Bertholdsdorf to be present at the solemnity:

the former delivered an impressive address to those assembled, on the intention of the building. Baron Von Wattewille knelt down on the foundation-stone, and prayed with such fervour of spirit, as deeply affected all the hearers. The Count often asserted, that in all his life he had never heard a similar prayer, and that he regarded the abundant grace which reigned amongst the brethren, to have taken its commencement from that hour.

Five of the Moravians were present at this solemnity, who clung very closely to the idea of their ancient ecclesiastical fraternity. They had emigrated with the intention of seeking out their brethren, either in Polish-Lissa, Holland, or Pennsylvania. The Count was ignorant, at first, of any difference between these and the former brethren from Moravia; but afterwards found that he had to do with very peculiar people. They adhered firmly and unshakenly to their opinions. They could not be silent respecting what they had heard from their forefathers, and what had been renewed amongst themselves at their awakening. Hence the Count was compelled not only to listen to them, but also to govern himself according to their views: for although he with his friends had hitherto regarded not so much the form, as the thing itself, on which every thing depends, in becoming a child of God, yet he now felt compelled to pay attention to these brethren, with respect to the form, on which they insisted. This gave his course a new direction, and brought, at the same time, new sufferings upon him. He afterwards regarded the circumstance of *these* Moravian brethren being present on the occasion, as something not merely accidental, but providential, and thought himself bound, in conscience, carefully to trace the Divine intentions regarding them.

Towards the end of July, the Count travelled to his consort at Ebersdorf, who there awaited her confinement. On the 8th of August, she was delivered of her first-born son, whom his father, immediately after his birth, offered up in a heartfelt and humble prayer to his Creator and Redeemer. He was baptized the same day, by the name of Christian Ernest.

The Count himself fell dangerously ill at Ebersdorf. On his journey thither, he had travelled by way of Halle, where

he conversed with Professor Franké and others. The intelligence respecting the work of God in Upper Lusatia, and particularly the rising church in Herrnhut, was received by them with various feelings. Anton rejoiced heartily, on hearing what God had hitherto done in Upper Lusatia, which was his native land; and he expressed his hope, that this gracious visitation would extend still further. Franké was not without his scruples, probably because he was apprehensive that something might result from it, which might not harmonize, and perhaps even interfere with the institutions for extending the kingdom of God, which had prospered for so many years under the direction of himself and his assistants.

According to human views, it would have been best for the new establishments in Upper Lusatia to have been connected with those in Halle from the very commencement; and if the worthy men in Halle had considered, from the first, how they might have contributed to the work of God in Upper Lusatia, and cordially connected themselves with it;—if this had been solicitously done, on both sides, for Jesus's sake, much injury to the kingdom of Christ, in the sequel, would have been prevented, and much good have been effected.

But now the affair had been carried so far, that the work of God in Upper Lusatia seemed to be something separate and distinct; although it does not appear whether those in Halle, or the brethren, were to blame, or whether the mistake had been made on both sides.

The Count returned from Ebersdorf to Upper Lusatia in October. On the 30th of that month, Baron Von Wattewille, who had also been with them in Ebersdorf, was united in marriage to Lady Joanna Sophia Von Zeschwitz.

On the 24th of November, the Count's infant son departed this life. His pious parents agreed to offer up this their firstborn to the good hand of the Lord—not of necessity but voluntarily. On this the Count knelt down to present the child to the Lord, in the name of himself and his consort; and during the prayer, the child expired. The Count expressed his resignation to the Divine will on this occasion, in a poem, as well as in another composed on his consort's birth-day.

About the beginning of the year 1725, it happened that the private meetings of those who had been awakened by the preaching of the gospel in Göerlitz, were forbidden by the magistracy. Under these circumstances, they applied to the Count, whose zeal for the promotion of that which is good, and the prevention of constraint of conscience, was well known to them, and requested his advice. As he was aware that they were closely connected with M. Schäefer their pastor, and that they regarded it as the will of God, that they should edify one another and not forsake the assembling of themselves together, he wrote them a letter of encouragement, rather to obey God than man, and patiently endure the consequences. Schäefer came himself to Dresden soon after, to make the proper application respecting the difference with the magistrates, as well as with reference to the schools he had established. The Count interested himself for him to the best of his ability, and afforded him opportunity of testifying to the truth, both in public and private; especially in the meetings which the Count held in his own house.

Several persons of distinction took pains to persuade him to give up these meetings; but he could not resolve upon doing so, since he felt it his duty faithfully to confess the Lord Jesus, and because he saw that they were rendered useful and beneficial to many.

He returned from Dresden to Upper Lusatia in April. The meetings on the Sunday commenced, at that time, at six o'clock in the morning, and continued till twelve at night. Those that came from Herrnhut to the meeting at Bertholdsdorf, brought a piece of bread in their pockets, in order not to neglect any thing for the sake of dining at home.

The Count took particular pleasure in a little meeting held on the Friday, with a number of persons who professed their attachment to the Saviour. Much trouble was taken to become thoroughly acquainted with the people and the state of their hearts, before they were permitted to be present on these occasions. The intention was, in unity of heart and spirit, to appear before God with praise, thanksgiving, and prayer. When thus met together in one mind, the Lord Jesus gave them to taste and see his goodness; others were thereby incited to greater zeal and earnestness.

The Count was at this time concerned for Herrnhut as well as Bertholdsdorf. We have already mentioned something of the dangerous position of the former, in consequence of the various strange and erroneous sentiments that were afloat, as well as that the Count did not interfere with violence, but with patience, charity, and wisdom. I have only to add here, that his method of treating those that were in error, began to be misconstrued. Many even hit upon the idea, that the Count was taking part with the people, which was manifestly erroneous.

The Count therefore fixed his attention upon two points in dealing with the Moravians. The first was, to endeavour to retain them in attending church and sacrament at Bertholdsdorf; the second, to seize every opportunity to express himself thoroughly to them upon the doctrines on which our salvation is founded.

With regard to the first point, he was fortunate enough to attain his object for the time, notwithstanding every difficulty and intervening circumstance. He induced those who had separated themselves, not only to return to the church, but also to receive the sacrament from the preacher of the place.

He likewise brought about a good understanding respecting the doctrine; for having conversed with them for three days together in Bertholdsdorf, especially on the 12th of May, which conversations sometimes lasted from early in the morning till midnight—after having listened to every one, convinced them individually from Scripture, and laid before them, with much simplicity, the fundamental principles of salvation—the blissful result was, that they all became *unanimous*.

Three kinds of institutions were formed for the education of the young. A charity-school had been established in Bertholdsdorf, to which his grandmother had left a legacy, which provided the means for instructing poor children, and procuring the needful school-books. Believing, that for the education of girls, persons of their own sex, and a different plan to that adopted for boys, were requisite—he proposed to build a house for them, which he likewise accomplished. The commencement was also made with the school for young noblemen, after the house which was destined for it in Herrnhut was completed.

Although these institutions required large sums of money, yet the Lord always graciously sent assistance. The Count's property increased, and a relative of the Countess's felt induced, towards the end of the year, to present two thousand dollars to these institutions.

In July, the Count again set out for Silesia, though warned of the dangers to which he exposed himself, and probably not without reason: for, although he had not caused any disturbance in matters of religion, yet other things might have been laid to his charge. It was known that he received people who emigrated from the Emperor's estates. But people were ignorant that he was innocent of Christian David's journey to Moravia, and what he transacted there. This bold witness for Jesus Christ did not suffer any thing to restrain him. For that very year, without saying a word to any one, and in spite of the Count's serious warning, he left his work as a carpenter, and went to Moravia; at the same time, it cannot be denied, that he preached the Gospel there with success. He was also wonderfully delivered and extricated from many perilous situations. I have often spoken with him respecting this dangerous undertaking, and found that he had not acted under a dubious impression, but with an uncommon and heartfelt certainty.

The Rev. J. C. Schwedler, a useful preacher of the gospel in Niederwiese, on the borders of Silesia, visited Herrnhut that year. He preached an excellent discourse in Hennersdorf, which lasted from nine in the morning, till three in the afternoon, as I find noticed in a letter from the Baroness of Gersdorf. It was no unfrequent occurrence, at his own place, that when divine service commenced at five or six o'clock, he did not leave the church till two or three. With the exception of the various hymns sung between his discourses, (during which his auditory was continually renewed by reason of the vast concourse of people,) he spoke during the whole of the time. Sometimes he even interrupted the singing by an impressive exhortation.

Amongst the Moravian emigrants, who arrived this year in Herrnhut, a family must be particularly noticed, who, in the sequel, had a great influence, both on the labours of the Count

in the church at Herrnhut from their commencement, and upon his personal circumstances during the whole of his life. The family consisted of David Nitschman with his wife, two sons, named Melchior and John, and a daughter called Anna.

The eldest son Melchior became elder of the church in Herrnhut. He resolved to visit those that had been awakened in Salzburg, and dispense to them spiritual food, but was arrested in Bohemia, and thrown into prison; in which he ended his days in 1729, as a faithful confessor of Jesus Christ.

In 1734, his parents proceeded to the West Indies, to preach the gospel to the poor slaves. His mother died in St. Croix the year following. Her husband returned to Europe, and a few years after went to North America. He was honoured and loved as a patriarch by the brethren at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, where he entered into rest, at an advanced age.

The younger son John became a worthy bishop of the Moravian church, and for a time teacher and elder of the church of the brethren at Sarepta, in Asia.

The daughter Anna was awakened whilst a child, and placed, as a blessing, amongst the other girls in Herrnhut. After some years she became an elder of the sisters. In the sequel, more will be mentioned concerning her.

A letter arrived, at the close of the year, from the persecuted followers of Schwenkfeld, addressed to the Count; in which they humbly and urgently entreated his protection, and a place of refuge. He immediately spoke to his consort's grandmother on the subject, who promised to permit them to reside in Upper Bertholdsdorf: but it was not until 1727 that they removed thither, after the Count had purchased it for himself. Meanwhile permission was given them to stay at Herrnhut.

They continued to reside in Bertholdsdorf from the year 1727; and it must be said of them, that they conducted themselves there in an industrious and regular manner. The Count, knowing the great prejudice that prevailed against the name of Schwenkfeld, although few were acquainted at that time with his doctrines and writings, was anxious—not to make them Lutherans, but to bring them as poor sinners to Jesus Christ. Since they did not consider themselves as constituting a particular church of Christ, and hence neither administered

the sacrament nor the Lord's supper, although they regarded them both as divine ordinances, they either attended the public meetings at Bertholdsdorf or remained at home, and read something out of the writings of Schwenkfeld or some other pious author. There were, in reality, people amongst them, who not only manifested that they possessed the fear of God, but also longed after salvation by Christ.

Of the works published by the Count in 1725, we notice, first, a small tract, entitled, "The last Discourse of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, before his Death on the Cross," containing the xivth—xviith chapters of John, with many observations and expositions. This little work shows plainly how painful it was to him, to be still obliged to attend to things that were not at all according to his mind, and how ardently desirous he was of serving the Lord Jesus Christ, and promulgating his gospel; how disgusted he was with the vanities of the world, and how pleased with the reproach of Christ; that he did not trouble himself about empty knowledge, but about the essence of religion and the enjoyment of salvation; as well as how he mourned over the distractions in the church of Christ, and the divisions amongst those that belong to him.

2. A collection of Hymns; his intention in which was to combine such as were truly excellent, both of the ancient and modern hymns, for the use of the church at Bertholdsdorf and his other friends. M. Jerichovius, head-master of the young noblemen's seminary, had the arranging of them, and in this way several hymns were inserted which did not accord with the Count's views.

3. "Louis Count Zinzendorf's sure Foundation of Christian Doctrine, according to the plan of Luther's Plain Catechism;" in which he adduces suitable passages from the Bible, with reference to every subject treated of in it, and gives the answers in the words of Scripture.

4. A French translation of "John Arndt's True Christianity." The Count had a great esteem for that work, and hoped it might do good in France. Hence he caused it to be translated into French by Samuel de Beauval, leaving out those passages which reflected on the Romish church. From attachment to Cardinal de Noailles, and trusting to his friendship, he

ventured to dedicate the work to him. Baron Von Wattewille presented it to him in the name of the Count, and was received very graciously. He required a week for the perusal of the book; after the lapse of which the Cardinal stated that he had read it, and found it so excellent, that he not only accepted it gladly, but also esteemed France happy in possessing such a work in the French tongue. After previously lamenting that the Count and he were of different creeds, he said, in the presence of some of his chapter, that if there were in his church, and amongst the bishops, many that were like him, things would be much better. He then took the Baron into his garden, and spoke very openly with him on the state of the Gallican church,—asked if the Count had not many enemies, and were not greatly persecuted, since this was common to the children of God of every creed? With respect to Arndt, he would have no hesitation in recommending it to the booksellers, but foresaw that its sale would be hindered (which really took place in the sequel). On taking leave, the Cardinal requested the Baron to assure the Count, and all his friends in Christ, of his affection for them, and commended himself to their prayers.

Besides this, the Count made an extract from Dr. Löescher's "Useful and Necessary Questions," and published it. His intention was to set the people in the neighbourhood right, who spoke so boldly against the divine and evangelical truths promulgated by him and his united friends; and attained his object in many instances: for he there made it apparent that Dr. Löescher, an unexceptionable divine of the Lutheran church, taught and affirmed the very same things, which he and his friends had done in public and in private.

This year (1725) he also appeared before the public as the "Dresden Socrates," under which title he published a weekly periodical; without its being known, however, at first, that he was the author of it. In this publication he speaks very freely; and if not satirically and ironically, at least strikingly and pointedly. Some were enraged at it, and caused the confiscation of the third Number; the reason assigned for which was, that the author's name was not given; until the Count at length avowed himself as the author. He continued this publication till the thirty-fourth Number, and it was after-

wards republished under the name of the "German Socrates; or correct Information respecting several important Truths which have become obsolete:" with a dedication to his Majesty, Christian VI. of Denmark.

The Count's object in the publication of this periodical work was (to use his own words) "to bring, like Socrates, his fellow-citizens to reflect upon themselves, and by his example to show them the way to the attainment of real and lasting contentment." He therefore led them from the outward appearance to the substance of the christian religion, and sought to persuade them either to become true Christians, or until they were so, not to give themselves out as such.

He expatiated upon all he heard or read against the work in the following Numbers; explaining and refuting, as the subject required.

At the close of the year, the Count had the pleasure of welcoming and embracing his friend, Baron Von Wattewille, at Bertholdsdorf, on his return from France.

On the 28th December, his consort also presented him with a daughter, who received the name, in baptism, of Henrietta Benigna Justina.

Respecting the year 1726, the Count observes that it was doubtless the most useful year of his life, and so replete with trials, that if he had learnt nothing from them it was certainly his own fault; but, taking every thing together, he had more cause for thankfulness than complaint.

In Herrnhut, as we have already seen, various individuals, who cherished particular opinions, had joined the little flock of those who were concerned for the salvation of their souls; and dangerous siftings followed upon the gracious visitations which had been experienced. After the brethren, through Divine mercy, had all become unanimous with respect to the doctrine of salvation by Christ, the adversary sought to cause confusion amongst them, and employed for this purpose a number of mistaken individuals, who all took part against the Count.

Even amongst the four united brethren, division ensued. The freedom with which objections against the truth were

permitted to be made in the conferences, at length went so far, that the Count began to fear it might even be seriously intended. Neither had they reference merely to minor things, but to the chief point itself.

With respect to himself, the Count insisted on the doctrine of the atonement by the blood of the Lamb of God: in this he was joined by the Rev. Mr. Rothe, and several of the brethren in Herrnhut. However, it cannot be denied, that the Count, even at that time, was deficient in something which is indispensable in maintaining the truth of the gospel; for he did not yet possess the boldness of contradicting objections to it, without the fear of possibility that it might be otherwise; nor was he yet so mighty and experienced in the Scriptures, as to be able to cut asunder the knots of doubt with the sword of the Spirit.

I will not detain the reader by a statement of all the religious errors which prevailed about this time in Herrnhut, but merely subjoin the following extract from the history of the four united brethren:—

"A certain civilian in Vogtland fell into a dispute with the clergyman of the place, respecting some particular opinions which he sought to disseminate, and was at length expelled from the communion. This greatly irritated him; and though previously very zealous for the sacrament, he now totally rejected it as solemnized in the Lutheran church. The Count, to whom he wrote, could not justify him in his aberrations, but expressed his dissent from them; on which he came to Herrnhut, in the absence of the Count, who was gone to Moravia, and by his extraordinary sanctimoniousness first astonished all the unstable-minded, and then induced them to separate from the rest. Mr. Rothe, as well as the Count on his return, though in a different manner, laboured to attain the same object. The former felt it his duty publicly to controvert this man and his adherents; whilst the Count, conformably with his official duty, remained quiet, and insisted upon nothing but christian charity. He first of all remonstrated with the man in a very kind manner; and when unable to accomplish any thing by this means, he had recourse to prayer, and laid the matter before the Lord. It then became

clear to him why God permitted such things ; for he saw that, in this manner, those who spoke indeed of Jesus, and had the appearance of virtue, but who possessed nothing more than what they had collected together by their own power and reason, were inwardly shaken, and rendered dubious respecting their state, whilst opportunity was afforded others of attaining to greater steadfastness in the divine life. With respect to himself, it taught him, by experience, what belonged to that tolerance which he recommended to every one. He also felt assured, that the grain of wheat, which had been sown in Herrnhut and other places, would spring up and bear glorious fruit, as well as that all poison would eventually become a valuable medicine. Hence he continued tranquil, in the exercise of charity and beneficence, and avoided all disputes, and merely looked on, even at the man's greatest transgressions, especially against himself; for, in order to attain his object, he would gladly have induced the Count to act with severity against him, that it might seem as if he were persecuted.

"Not long after the man became insane ; and after experiencing all possible attention at Herrnhut, removed from thence, which, in a great measure, put a stop to the mischief. The man continued in his state of lunacy, wandered about for several years in the greatest misery, and at length came to a melancholy end."

Meanwhile, the seduction caused by this individual was carried to such an extent, that almost all the Moravian brethren separated from the church at Bertholdsdorf; so that, with the exception of the first emigrants from Moravia, and a few other brethren in Herrnhut, no one held with the Count.

This separation could not remain a secret in other parts, and it excited much displeasure amongst those who were ignorant of the true state of the case. The cause of it was ascribed to the Count, although he suffered the most from it, and sought its radical removal. It did not, however, confuse him, but he resigned himself to the affliction, in order that he might not injure the good cause ; for which he was the more solicitous in consequence of his having received this year the first call from the Moravian brethren to take their part, and that of their church.

The Count clearly perceived that he must either leave these people, who had thus erred in doctrine and practice, and on whom no impression could be made by violence and threats, to become a prey to separatism and fanaticism, or take charge of them in a manner suited to them. He finally resolved upon the latter, respecting which he thus writes :—

" It is certainly the case, that we have a Moravian national church. But it must not, therefore, be supposed, that the individuals constituting it have always been as they are now ; for, at first, the case was very different; and not only have strange and singular, but also dangerous and pernicious opinions raged amongst the brethren. Those that are sincere amongst the teachers have not differed as to the fact, but merely as to the method of remedying it. I have entirely rejected theirs, and made use of that, in the Saviour's name, which I thought to be the best. *This has finally made me a Moravian preacher ;* and it is evident that the Saviour has blessed the means I have pursued, which makes me forget all the trouble, time, anxiety, calumny, and what generally follows hazardous enterprises."

In other respects, he continued unwearied in his public repetitions of the sermons preached, and likewise employed other means of manifesting to the Moravians the mind of Christ. In the select meetings he spoke upon important subjects, and did not omit conversing with one and another in a cordial and brotherly manner. All this proved very useful. He wisely gave way in the form and order ; for as soon as he attempted to insist upon these, division was the consequence. With respect to doctrine, he sought only to produce essential harmony amongst the Moravians with the tenets of the Lutheran church.

The instability of the brethren at Herrnhut caused the Count much inward distress, whilst reflecting that so many conflicting parties were formed as to leave only a few that were not carried away with the stream. The former went so far as even to use abusive language respecting the Count, whom they called " the beast," which had given power to the false prophet, meaning Rothe, to lead them astray. His grief was increased by the displeasure of others, whom he regarded as true brethren, and the consideration that various pious people,

not thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances, judged harshly of him. But the Lord richly comforted him, and afforded him the assurance that all would still be well, and the Saviour attain his object. Hence he was able to console others who were troubled concerning these circumstances, and to strengthen their hopes.

The number of those that were awakened in Bertholdsdorf, by the preaching of Jesus, continued to increase. On the 1st of January, there were more than ninety individuals who publicly professed to belong to Christ.

About this time, also, an awakening took place amongst the Wends,* by the preaching of the gospel, in which the Count felt the more interested, from the circumstance that his grandmother had been concerned for many years in bringing these people to a vital knowledge of Jesus Christ. To this end she had caused the Psalter, and the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, to be printed, at her own expense, in the language of the Wends.

This venerable lady terminated her earthly career on the 6th of March, 1726. After being unable, from weakness, to leave her dwelling, except occasionally, for twelve years previous; a few days before her decease she let herself be transported to a place from whence she could see Herrnhut, and blessed the church in that place. The Count delivered a funeral oration at her interment, from Psalm cxxvi. 6.

Of the journeys which the Count took this year, that to Cremsir, in Moravia, is the most remarkable. The Count was very solicitous that the emigration of the Moravians, whom he received upon his estates, should be conducted in a proper manner; for he perceived that it might otherwise be productive of unpleasantness in the sequel. Hence he deemed it necessary, not only to inquire into every circumstance at the proper place, but also to express his sincere sentiments with respect to receiving these people.

Being aware that Cardinal Von Schrattenbach and his brother, who was an imperial privy councillor, resided in Cremsir, he thought it best to travel thither, and make direct application

* Descendants of the ancient Vandals.

to these noblemen. Their characters, which he had heard highly spoken of, gave him hopes that he would attain his object.

He had also heard that David Nitschman, one of the five brethren who had arrived in Herrnhut in May 1724, was in prison in Cremsir. He had gone to Moravia, without the Count's knowledge, to visit his father, and had been arrested there. He wished to visit him in prison, and, if possible, procure his release.

He commenced his journey in August, and on the 14th arrived at Jäegerndorf, from whence he proceeded to Hof in Moravia. To avoid the suspicion of having any other object in view, he made no stay in any of the places through which he passed. He arrived at Cremsir on the 17th, and immediately sent to inform the Cardinal and the privy councillor of the circumstance. A state coach was sent for him, and, after a formal reception, he was conducted into the apartment of the Countess. The Cardinal arrived soon after from mass, and before dinner, the discourse turned upon general subjects. At dinner the Cardinal asked the Count, whether he was travelling to Vienna or Brün? He replied that his intention, this time, was solely to visit his Eminence.

When the cloth was removed, and after some animated conversation on religious subjects, in which the Count not only freely confessed his creed, but expressed his sentiments upon toleration, and other civil matters with reference to religion, he inspected, in company with some of the principal courtiers, both the palace and whatever was worthy of being seen in and about Cremsir. On the way, he took occasion to inquire of a canon, how those who were imprisoned on account of their religion were treated there?

Other marks of distinction were also shown the Count, which were, however, only troublesome to him, because the recollection of his poor imprisoned brother, David Nitschman, recurred continually to his mind. Meanwhile the vesper-bell was rung, which gave him an opportunity of casting himself before God, and of commending to him the whole concerns of Moravia, and especially his present business.

He afterwards requested a private conference with the privy

councillor, and after expressing his confident hope, that the step he was about to take would be regarded by the Cardinal and the privy councillor, in the manner in which it might be expected from persons of their high rank and worthy character, he stated to them, with his accustomed boldness, the object of his visit,—that he was not in the habit of undertaking any thing in a secret or suspicious manner, and hence had felt induced to travel thither in person, in order,—

1. To mention that he had received many emigrants from Moravia into his estates, and why he had done so.

2. To prove that the emigrants had been obliged to leave the country, with the loss of their property, merely for the truth's sake.

3. To arrange that the people, whose number continually increased, should remain at home, if a few points were conceded them.

4. To remonstrate against arresting the persons of those who, for conscience' sake, had parted with all they possessed.

5. To inquire after David Nitschman, who had come thither to visit his parents, and not to induce others to emigrate, and to entreat his liberation; or if that could not be obtained, to be permitted to render him the assistance he required.

To this address, the privy councillor returned an answer, such as a prudent imperial minister, who wished at the same time to appear as a patriot and a zealous and reasonable man, could make on the spot. It was to the following effect:—

1. The Count's visit was a voluntary civility, and is received in the manner customary amongst persons of rank.

2. The emigration of those who would not accommodate themselves to the Catholic doctrine and manner of life, was unavoidable, according to the constitution of the country.

3. The emigration of the people, according to the Emperor's intention, would not be hindered; but those that induced and assisted others to emigrate, must reasonably take the consequences.

On this point the Count declared, that he neither could nor would receive all those whom others had persuaded to emigrate; and that none of those he had received could undertake any thing of the kind, without acting contrary to his express commands.

4. They were entirely ignorant of David Nitschman, whose liberation must be sought for from the Court of Appeal at Prague; and that whatever assistance might be sent him would unquestionably reach him.

After the termination of this interview, the Count took occasion to speak with several noblemen and gentlemen at the levee, and then took leave of the Cardinal, in the presence of the company, and retired to his inn, whither he was accompanied by servants of the Cardinal's, bearing flambeaux.

During the time the Count was at court, M. Jerichovius, who had accompanied him, had gone, of his own accord, to the city prison, in order, 1. To inquire if Nitschman were really there, and how he was. 2. To entreat the gaoler to give him an opportunity of speaking to the prisoner in his presence, or at least to tell him that the Count was there. 3. To present him with some money for Nitschman's better subsistence; but with respect to the second point, he had not been able to succeed.

Nothing was left, therefore, for the Count to do, but to take his departure. He found, however, the gates closed, and was therefore obliged to notify the circumstance to the commandant. After waiting at the gates for more than a quarter of an hour, they were opened, and he proceeded, without detention, to Jäegerndorf, and from thence back to Upper Lusatia.

On the journey to Cremsir, as well as on his return through Silesia, the Count had many opportunities of testifying of the grace of Christ, and his salvation, to the great encouragement of many souls. I find that he preached upwards of twenty times in various places, and distributed copies of a tract written by Professor Franké.

On this occasion, he first became acquainted with that faithful and useful servant of Jesus Christ, Ernest Julius Von Seidlitz, who relates that the Count came to him at Schöenbrunn to his great joy, and in the evening conducted the worship usually held in his house. The next day he again held a public meeting, in which more than three hundred individuals, of all ranks, were present. He spoke also to some in particular; and I know from several, that it was rendered a blessing to them.

In October, he travelled with Baron Von Wattewille to Ebersdorf, where the joy was great on both sides, and the covenant was renewed, to live devoted to the Lord Jesus. M. Schäefer joined them, and also preached there. On their journey home they visited Count Henkel in Pöelzig, and then their friends in Halle, particularly Professor Franké, with whom the Count conversed, for the last time, and retained the long conversation and the impressive prayer with which the holy man took leave, as it were, of him and his brethren, in edifying remembrance. An opportunity was afforded the Count of speaking to the pupils in the high-school, when he impressed upon them, in particular, that to love God is the chief wisdom.

From Halle the Count returned with his company to Upper Lusatia, and visited, on the way, Count Von Schöenburg in Lichtenstein, and Count Von Solms at Wildenfels. At the latter place, M. Schäefer preached a few times, and the Count held meetings. One of his discourses on the words, "Blessed are the pure in heart," &c., occasioned a correspondence of some length with a certain pious Duchess.

Whilst at Dresden, in December, he was visited by that eminent divine, John Adam Steinmetz. He had been in correspondence with him for some time, and regarded him as an instrument, in the hands of God, to banish the sectarian spirit from the first Moravian emigrants: for when they came to him at Teschen, he so clearly pointed out to them the true nature of godliness, and of the church of Christ, as consisting of a number of individuals who cordially adhere to Christ, and become partakers of his Spirit, that they never forgot it, and this proved of much service to the Count, when he came to speak with them upon religion.

Amongst the Count's literary labours, in the year 1726, we must first notice the part he took in the Ebersdorf Bible, respecting which such uncharitable and unjust opinions have been formed. The object of its publication was to provide the poor, by the aid of the Count's grandmother, with a Bible, at a cheaper rate than had previously been known. Like many other editions, it is provided with marginal references and summaries of the chapters; Luther's prefaces to the Old and New Testament, and to the Epistle to the Romans, together with

John Arndt's *Informatorium Biblicum*, were also added. To some of the books of the Old Testament, and the whole of the New, the summaries are more copious than usual; and the Count has expressed in them the meaning of the text in a clear and lively manner. Finally, Mr. Rothe appended "A Register and new translation of most of those passages of Scripture, which have greater emphasis in the original."

Amongst the Count's other treatises and single publications, at this period, there is an answer to the question, "Whether the meetings of well-disposed individuals for conversation and edification, in private houses, could be defended on sound principles?" as also, "A Memento to christian friends in Z—, R—, and S—, when awakenings commenced among them."

In the former of these, he maintains, that those who are sincere, certainly may and ought, according to the principles of the doctrine of Jesus and the Lutheran church, to meet together in private houses, and converse with and encourage each other respecting their souls' salvation. In the latter, he shows how they ought to establish themselves in Christ, edify themselves by his grace, as well as act in external matters, that the good that is in them may not be hindered, nor any thing evil be propagated.

His "Ideas for learned and yet well-disposed Scholars of the Truth," probably belong to this period. His object seems to have been, to bring individuals, who are devoted to reasoning, to reflection upon religion.

He also continued to write hymns and poems on various occasions, some of which appear in the Moravian Hymn-book.

Respecting his correspondence, I will here advert only to the letter which he wrote, in the beginning of the year, to the Countess of Schaumburg-Lippe, at that time in London. He requested her mediation that a boy, who had been found wild in the woods, might be committed to his care; because he wished to ascertain, by experiment, whether ideas were innate, and how they developed themselves. From the reply of the Countess, dated St. James's, 12th February, 1726, it appears, that she would gladly have complied with his wish, especially since she believed it would tend to the poor youth's salvation,

if he were placed in the Count's hands. But she adds, that his majesty the king, in whose territories the boy had been found, had presented him to the Princess of Wales, who had committed him to the care of a philosopher, to make the same experiment respecting innate ideas, for which the Count had also requested to have him.

In a subsequent letter it is said, "Great pains have been taken to teach him to speak, in order to learn something of him respecting his former residence, and, if possible, of his ideas. He has hitherto scarcely learned so much, as to be able to ask for what he most wants, in English. His hearing is good, but his pronunciation more a barking than a regular articulation. .... He is unable to answer any questions, and his memory is not even as good as the instinct of animals: in short, he possesses so little of what is human or rational, that there is no hope of his ever learning any thing."

The Count, on his return to Dresden at the end of the year, resumed his meetings; after giving an account of which, he relates, that he received an unexpected visit from Baron Von Kröecher, a man of notorious character in those days. At first he felt alarmed, but committed himself to God. He stated the object of his visit, which was, that having read in the "Socrates" an uncommonly free confession of the truth; notwithstanding the danger of such a step, he wished to become acquainted with its author or promoter, and ascertain what had induced him to it, as well as to communicate to him his own adventures and sentiments. The Count listened to him for some hours, and found, that through the reading of Madam Petersen's writings, from a declared atheist, he had become a defender of the truth in a very violent degree; but, that with all the attention he had excited in the world, no blessing attended his efforts, because he was unacquainted with the lowly and crucified Saviour.

The Count mentioned what had appeared objectionable to him in the Baron's narration, and modestly directed him both to the mind and spirit of Christ, and the clear words of Scripture, and thus they parted.

The Count adds, that during the holidays, a man who for many causes had been some years in prison, and was regarded

as entirely destitute of religion, had several times let himself be brought to his meetings, accompanied by his gaoler, and had said to a gentleman who spoke with him on the subject, "If any thing in the world were able to convert him, he believed it would be what he heard there."

About this time, however, things of an unpleasant nature occurred with respect to his meetings, which were caused by the hostility of certain persons, who had probably taken offence at something in his "Socrates." He had held these meetings every Sunday, with open doors, for five years, without any objection being made on the part of the court or the clergy. But he was now compelled, by the intrusion of certain people, to declare, that if persons who were unknown to him were desirous of visiting his meetings, he must first be informed of it. There were also other things, which I do not mention, because they do no honour to those who were the cause of them. The Count laid all these things before the Lord; and although he continued his meetings, he found it necessary to make some alteration in their arrangement.

The more the Count was confirmed in the conviction, that he was called of God to something different to worldly affairs, the more he wished to divest himself of a situation which hindered him from obeying his inward vocation. The decided will of his parents, which had alone induced him to accept office in the State, had hitherto prevented him from seeking his dismission from it. This hinderance was now removed by the decease of his grandmother; and after repeated letters on the subject to his mother, he at length, to his great joy, and almost contrary to his expectation, obtained her consent to the step he had so long wished to take.

In 1727, therefore, he seriously endeavoured to obtain his dismission; but some friends, whom he consulted on the subject, thought he would do best, if he first requested permission to be absent a longer time than usual. To this he agreed, and it was granted him without difficulty.

Besides the motive for this determination already mentioned, he was prompted to it by affection for those whom, as he

believed, the Lord had conducted to him at Herrnhut. He did not wish that they should have come thither to their own detriment; and yet he saw, from the religious errors that had arisen amongst them, that this would be the case, if they did not receive speedy and complete assistance. He had also been repeatedly written to by the brethren at Herrnhut, who continued faithful, to come to them, for the Lord's sake, and take up the matter. Besides this, he clearly perceived, that he had so much irritated some individuals by his severe sentiments in the "German Socrates," that he was afraid they would seek to avenge themselves on Herrnhut, and make use of the errors that prevailed there as a pretext. Hence he was the more concerned to clear this stumbling-block out of the way.

He had, however, some affairs on hand, which made it necessary for him to travel to Dresden several times in 1727 and 1728, in order to bring them to a conclusion. He had also been deputed, with another Aulic counsellor, to regulate and terminate a certain intricate affair, in which many people were interested. They clearly perceived, that they would make themselves many enemies, if, in their commission, they went to work in an upright and conscientious manner, and without respect of persons; however, they decided upon doing so, and spared neither labour nor trouble. But they were not able to bring the affair to a termination before March, 1728. On the 11th of that month, they made their report to the board, which approved of it, and resolved upon informing the king respecting it. The chancellor in particular was much delighted that the affair was at length happily terminated.

The first journey to Dresden, which the Count undertook in 1728, was on the occasion of the marriage of his brother, Count Frederick Christian. On his return to Herrnhut, he gave the chief chaplain to the court the opportunity of minutely inspecting the institutions in Upper Lusatia for the extension of the kingdom of Christ, who testified great joy at the visible advancement of the Lord's work.

During the remaining part of 1728, and the whole of the three following years, the Count made use of the permission to be absent from Dresden. At length he deemed it necessary

to withdraw entirely from office, for which purpose he addressed a letter to the king, dated 12th Sept. 1731, who graciously accepted his resignation; and on the 8th of March, 1732, he laid down his office of government-councillor, in the presence of the whole council, in a speech, which was obligingly answered by the chancellor. On this occasion, he publicly stated both the principles on which the church in Herrnhut was formed, and the nature of his institutions for the promotion of the kingdom of Christ in Upper Lusatia.

His views respecting his retirement from office may be gathered from a letter written in 1728, in which he says, "I found it difficult to continue in office, because circumstances were daily occurring, in which I was apprehensive of acting contrary to the word of the Lord:"—"They that are great, exercise authority: but it shall not be so among you." I have acted the part of Mordecai at court, whose immovable deportment does not bear a satisfactory comparison with the friendly discipleship of Christ, and has proved a hinderance to me with respect to that religion of the heart, which was my sole object. I have sometimes appeared to conquer by my Roman citizenship (although not always so in reality), when I ought to have overcome by suffering and succumbing. In future, the same and still more disgraceful sufferings may befall me, which have befallen my brethren.

CHAPTER III.

REMOVAL TO HERRNHUT, FORMATION OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH—THE COUNT CHOSEN TO PRESIDE OVER IT—AWAKENINGS—RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS—MISSIONS OF THE BRETHREN—JOURNEYS TO JENA AND HALLE—RESIGNS HIS OFFICE—JOURNEY TO BERLENBURG AND SCHWARZENAU, AND ALSO TO COPENHAGEN—MISSIONS TO ST. THOMAS AND GREENLAND—FIRST COMMISSION IN HERRNHUT—JOURNEYS TO NEUSTADT, CASTELL, AND EBERSDORF—MISSIONS TO THE HEATHEN—IS ORDERED TO SELL HIS ESTATES.

Before the Count left Dresden in the year 1727, a pamphlet appeared against the Ebersdorf Bible. He therefore caused an advertisement respecting it to be inserted in the public journals, which drew the attention of the government to the subject. After due examination, the pamphlet was condemned, and its author escaped punishment solely through the forbearance of the opposite party. The Count, however, foresaw that this would form the commencement of a religious paper-war of many years' duration.

Although the Count felt grieved at this first attack upon him, yet other things caused him still greater pain; especially the opinions of many respecting him, and even of those whom he regarded as his brethren, and as children of God. He had long been accustomed to their judging harshly of his actions, undertakings, and even of his intentions; but now they even cast doubts upon his state of grace, and said that he was not converted.

I will not deny that he may have given cause for such speeches; for when associating fraternally with those whom he thought loved the Saviour, he expressed himself very freely upon every subject. Thus when the penitential conflict was spoken of, which was at that time the subject of much conversation, and when one or other related, with much circumlocution,

the manner of his guidance—the Count openly confessed that he had not experienced it thus. It being taken for granted, that no one can be a child of God, who has not experienced certain degrees of anxiety and distress on account of his sins, which are often very painful—the decision was soon arrived at, that the Count was still deficient in true conversion.

This circumstance, however, caused him to examine thoroughly whether he were a child of God or not. He did so in particular, when he was alone for weeks and months together on his journeys. He would gladly indeed have experienced such a penitential conflict as they spoke of; but when he besought the Saviour, with reference to it, he was always induced only to cast himself at his feet, and cleave to him as a poor sinner; for the essence of true religion consists in loving him, whom we see not, and believing in him as if we saw him.

The subject of the penitential conflict was then rendered clear to him. He saw that the Holy Spirit certainly brings every one, whom he takes into his school, to see his own personal sinfulness, in all its parts, and in all its greatness. This causes a conflict in those who would gladly retain something of their own, but in simple souls, it becomes a source of happiness, if they immediately yield themselves up to it, look into the mirror held up before them, do not flatter themselves in the least, nor dissemble and forget what manner of persons they were. "Blessed are the poor in spirit. Blessed are they that mourn!"

Meanwhile, the Count suffered nothing to deter him from his resolution to proceed to Upper Lusatia, and take charge of the souls whom the hand of the Lord had conducted thither. He resided at first at Bertholdsdorf, and went every day, sometimes more than once, to Herrnhut and back again. But because this was a great inconvenience, in many respects, he resolved to remove to Herrnhut, and to fix his ordinary residence there. He thought that one wing of the Orphan-house would suffice him for this purpose, and although it was not finished, nor the walls of the apartment he was to occupy, dry, yet this did not prevent him from taking up his abode there in the month of June.

The Count had hitherto laboured in common with the Rev. Mr. Rothe in Bertholdsdorf and Herrnhut, but at length the misunderstanding arose between them, which has been already noticed. The latter chose a very different method of restoring those who had gone astray, to that practised by the Count, and which was not always attended with the best results. Other things supervened, which increased the misunderstanding, and clearly showed that these two individuals, though with the same object in view, could not usefully continue to labour together. For each of them was so well assured of his being in the right, that it seemed impossible for the one to yield to the other.

The Count therefore proposed to divide the work with Mr. Rothe, the latter to retain the pastoral charge over the people at Bertholdsdorf, and to act with them as he found best; whilst the Count, as lord of the manor, would only render his assistance when necessary. But in Herrnhut, he would act as Mr. Rothe's catechist, whilst the latter's influence, as incumbent of the place, should remain uninfringed upon. This agreement was also duly notified to the awakened individuals in both places, and the matter very clearly explained to them.

The Count now entered upon a new period of his life. He devoted himself entirely to the service of the poor exiles, and to the promotion of their temporal and spiritual welfare. Nothing was too mean or difficult, if he could, by its means, do them any good. Instead of deriving any outward advantage from it, he was obliged to assist, on every occasion, with his own property. Nor could he expect fame and honour; since, from the very beginning, disgrace was heaped upon him.

He committed the management of his domestic affairs to his consort, who was not only a faithful help-mate to him in this respect, but also in the spiritual charge of those of her own sex. The management of his estates was, at the same time, partially committed to Baron Von Wattewille, and Mr. Marche was appointed magistrate.

The first object of his solicitude, which had also been his chief concern for some years, was the doctrine. For my own part, I am convinced, that the Lord raised him up to assist

those who were concerned for their salvation in finding the right path. He gave him grace and wisdom to declare, in what way our salvation for time and eternity proceeds solely from Jesus Christ and his vicarious sacrifice. This doctrine was not, indeed, so clearly taught at that time, as in the sequel, nor can it be denied, that from 1728 to 1734, the ministry was more legal than evangelical. However, many who lived at that period assert, that the brethren built their piety upon the true foundation—the free grace of God, and the sufferings and death of Christ.

The Count's next concern was, prudently to terminate the separation which had taken place in Herrnhut from the church and sacrament, as he had already done in 1725. He began it with patience, charity, and forbearance, but, at the same time, in the power of the Spirit and the word of God. He exhorted and entreated the brethren, with many tears, both in public and in private. Although the power lay in his hands, yet he made use of no compulsatory measures to oblige the people to attend church and sacrament, as was at that time customary in many places; for he regarded such means, in matters of conscience, as both unjust and irrational. He conversed with the people on the nature of godliness in Christ Jesus, and of the true form of the church of Christ, in a clear and comprehensive manner. The Lord also at length prospered him in the attempt to restore those who had separated, to union with the Lutheran church.

But however willing the brethren were to continue in the fellowship of public worship and the holy sacraments with the Lutherans, yet they insisted upon retaining the form and constitution of the Moravian church in ancient times. When the Count spoke with them on this subject, they gave him roundly and firmly to understand, that on this point they were unable and unwilling to concede any thing. They asserted, that it was evident such regulations were wanting everywhere, and that Luther himself had confessed, the brethren had the advantage in it. But if objections were made to grant them this in the Lutheran church, especially in Herrnhut, they would rather leave the place and go elsewhere, not doubting but that they would find places where

this liberty, for which they were so solicitous, would be willingly granted them.

The Count was by no means disposed to yield to the brethren in this point; for he foresaw how much it would be misconstrued and misjudged. However, he found it necessary to reflect upon the subject.

The following are the reasons which at length induced him no longer to oppose, but to promote the matter.

1. He could see nothing improper, either in the intention or the thing itself. The brethren desired nothing but that which, according to their views, tended to promote edification and improvement; whilst he believed it to be perfectly in accordance with the privileges of the Protestant church, that a free religious society, which has derived its constitution from ancient times and usages, cannot be compelled by any one to renounce it.

2. In the preface by Buddeus to John Amos Commenius's tract upon the Ecclesiastical Discipline and Regulations of the United Brethren, the Count found that they were acknowledged to be "apostolic, useful, and necessary," and that it was only to be lamented, that the Lutheran church was not yet in a situation to adopt them. Hence he regarded it as unjust to deprive the brethren of this precious deposit, which they had retained uninjured for so many years, and of which they could not be entirely deprived, even by such severe oppression as that which they had experienced.

3. If the Count had hindered them from retaining their ancient ecclesiastical constitution, he had reason to apprehend many injurious consequences to the Saviour's cause, and to religion itself, if the matter were suffered to take its free course in other parts, and under other auspices. Hence he took the affair upon himself, solely with the intention of preserving these precious souls for the Saviour, after their being once placed under his superintendence, *sub quocunque schemate*.

4. He believed that the Lord had his particular intentions in this affair, and that the origin of it was to be sought in the depths of Divine Providence. Besides, he felt he ought to act as other creatures, who let their Creator act; and,

without interfering in the main point, make it his duty and concern to prevent evil, and to repel that which really ought to be averted.

5. The Count says further, "That gratitude towards the church to which I belonged, and its reformers, whom God had legitimated, required it. I should certainly have been no friend to Luther, if I had let this opportunity slip, of uniting the brethren with us. Besides, I clearly saw, that if I suffered the brethren to depart, some of them would go over to another great church, with the loss of their ecclesiastical constitution; but that the awakened would divide themselves amongst all the smaller sects, and produce infinitely more confusion in general, than profit individually.

6. "If all the reasons now stated had not existed, yet the following consideration would have decided me to retain them, even though I might have been expelled with them:—I could not read old Commenius's mournful lament to the English church, in which he regards the church of the brethren as at an end, and that he was closing the door to it, nor twice place before me his sorrowful prayer, 'Restore us, O Lord, that we may return home! renew our days as in ancient times!' before the resolution was formed to aid them to the utmost of my ability. Though I may lose my property, honour, and life in the cause, yet as long as I live, and as far as I am able, as well as with respect to those that shall succeed me, this flock of the Lord shall be kept for him until he comes."

The Count, notwithstanding all this, did not omit to ask the advice of devout clergymen of the Lutheran church; for he was desirous of being fully assured of the correctness of his views, and of venturing no step except upon a proper basis. The replies he received were various, yet all agreed, that it was very needful to take charge of these strangers.

Dr. Marperger in particular assured the Count, that his statement of the affair had pleased him exceedingly; and if such were the case, the Lord would grant his distinguished blessing upon the brethren in Herrnhut. He must only be careful, lest the commencement should be interrupted, and the flock scattered. The Count ought also reasonably to

guard against dissolving his connexion with them, but retain his influence in the affair.

After having duly considered every thing, the result was, that on the 12th May, certain congregational regulations were drawn up, and voluntarily agreed to by the brethren and sisters. They were called "statutes," or religious and pious institutions, which obtained their validity, not by the orders of the civil powers, but by fraternal agreement and voluntary approval. The various errors that had been propagated, gave rise to every point in these statutes; and their object was to prevent every thing that might be productive of evil, or prove an obstruction to that which is good, and, on the contrary, bring into exercise that which tended to advancement in the ways of God.

These statutes were not only unanimously adopted, but also subsequently signed. Their adoption was so general, that those who had previously separated themselves, followed the example of the rest. Hence the day above mentioned is particularly memorable to the brethren, on account of the first voluntary reformation of life and doctrine at Herrnhut, and its remembrance is annually renewed in all the churches of the brethren.

On that day, the Count made a covenant with the people, in the presence of God. The brethren individually engaged to belong entirely to the Saviour. They were ashamed of their religious quarrels, and were unanimously disposed to bury them in oblivion. They also sincerely renounced self-love, self-will, disobedience, and free-thinking. They were desirous of becoming poor in spirit; none of them sought a preference above the rest; and each one wished to be taught by the Holy Spirit in all things; they were not only convinced, but carried away and overpowered by the operating grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The Count subsequently declared, that Herrnhut, on that day, was balancing between the formation of a new sect, and the intentions of the Saviour respecting his church in those days. Through the operation of the Holy Spirit, during a speech of from three to four hours in length, the latter was decided upon. What the Lord did for Herrnhut, from that

time till the winter of the same year, is inexpressible. The whole place appeared like a visible tabernacle of God with men.

Having agreed to the statutes, twelve men were chosen the same day from amongst them, as elders of the church, to watch over their observance. This eldership was not regulated by years, but by the fitness of the individuals for the office—men who were in good repute with all, and well reported of as regards the truth. No elder was to have a personal animosity towards any one, nor was any one to have any reasonable ground of aversion to him; for the whole congregation, and every individual member of it, had to look up to the elders, in order to love, honour, and follow them.

The Count was nominated to the office of superintendent, which extended to all the concerns of the church; and he undertook it without any objection, having already received a call from the Moravian brethren in 1726, to take up their cause and that of the church. Baron Von Wattewille was appointed his assistant in office.

The Count was therefore the guardian of the church from its very commencement, and resolved, in the discharge of his office, daily to wait for the Lord's direction, and filially follow it, in small things as well as in great.

In consequence of his office, he considered how every brother might be appointed to that particular station in the church, for which he appeared to have received the necessary gifts from God. After this was done, he took care that every one duly attended to the duties incumbent upon him, and in particular, that every thing should be done at a proper time, and in a proper measure.

From this time, the Count conferred very diligently with the twelve elders above mentioned, and his colleague Baron Von Wattewille, respecting every thing that seemed necessary for the promotion of the welfare of the community. After conversing with them until late at night, on the 19th May, it was resolved to commit this office more particularly to four of the elders, who were to be chosen by lot, after the example of the ancient Moravian church, which was accordingly done at four o'clock the next morning. Two of the four thus elected, were Christian David, and Melchior Nitschman.

Besides the nightly watch in Herrnhut, which the brethren were obliged to keep in turn, another kind of night-watch was kept, either by single brethren or small companies, who passed the whole night in prayer and other devotional exercises. These night-watches the Count regarded as a real repose in God, and often assisted at them with pleasure.

As superintendent of the church in Herrnhut, his attention was directed to the public doctrine, the state of the church in general, and of its members in particular: his sermons were not exegetical discourses, for he was of opinion, that a particular gift was requisite for expounding the Scripture, which he believed he did not possess. Hence he says, in 1735, "I have now laboured for eight years in a church of the Lord's, as an unordained catechist; and I appeal to the testimony of my hearers, whether I have once ventured to expound the Scriptures expressly, or positively to assert, that such and such was the meaning of the Apostle or Prophet, unless it was so clear and evident, that I was sure of every one's approval. I applied myself merely to the inculcating of known and undeniable truths, and therein I succeeded best."

The education of children was an object of the Count's especial solicitude. The number of scholars in Bertholdsdorf amounted to nearly one hundred, over whom he placed a faithful instructor. The school for young noblemen in Herrnhut was given up, and instead of it, a seminary for youths, under the superintendence of Melchior Nitschman, and another for girls, under the care of Madam Gutbier, was commenced. The Count was much grieved at the deadness to spiritual things which he perceived in the children; but, after having addressed them on his birth-day, from the impulse of his heart, the Holy Spirit produced in many of them true repentance, distress respecting their sinful state, and a sighing and crying to the Saviour for mercy. God also blessed the labours of a student, who was their teacher, and in a short time there was a general awakening amongst the children at Herrnhut and Bertholdsdorf.

The Count was now solicitous that this work of grace should not be obstructed. Some, who were of the number, and are now in the ministry, have informed me of the care the Count took of them; and when they went to the Hutberg,

near Herrnhut, in order to weep and pray for mercy, the Count stood at a distance, that they might not be disturbed: when they had finished, he sometimes went home with them, singing hymns on the way. The Countess and her sisters were also anxiously concerned for the nurturing of these tender plants of grace amongst the girls.

From attachment to children, the Count published that year, "A Collection of simple and precious Truths, in German Verse," &c. for their use.

The Count was not inclined to have any thing to do with the children of strangers, or to admit them into his seminaries. He was afraid that dangerous consequences might result from it; since it easily happens, that when a number of different children thus come together, the one injures the other, and communicates things which prove their bane.

Besides this, he wished to avoid all appearance of injuring other institutions for the education of children, or being desirous of doing so; and, on the whole, he did not think he was called to promote the cause of Christ by institutions of this nature.

These reasons induced him, the same year, to close the school for young noblemen, as mentioned above, and to confine himself to the most indispensable institutions of the kind for the community.

The Count was also very desirous of stirring up the gifts possessed by the brethren and sisters in Herrnhut, and that they might be employed, not only for mutual edification, but for the general good. In an address delivered on the 2d July, 1747, he says, "This day twenty years ago, whilst the gospel was being preached at Bertholdsdorf, Herrnhut, and elsewhere, to an incredible number of people, a gracious wind from the Lord was felt, which was the commencement of an uninterrupted work of the Holy Spirit in Herrnhut during the remainder of the year. The visit of Mary to Elizabeth, which is that day commemorated in the christian church, gave rise to the idea of bands or societies: these were established throughout the whole community, the following week, and have been productive of such blessed effects, that I believe, without such an institution, the church would never have become what it now is."

"The societies called bands, consist of a few individuals met together in the name of Jesus, amongst whom Jesus is; who converse together in a particularly cordial and childlike manner, on the whole state of their hearts, and conceal nothing from each other, but who have wholly committed themselves to each other's care in the Lord. Cordiality, secrecy, and daily intercourse is of great service to such individuals, and ought never to be neglected; but whenever slothfulness creeps in, the individuals ought to feel ashamed of it and amend."

The Count, as superintendent of the church, and with the consent of his fellow-labourers, divided all the brethren and sisters, according to their different states of mind, into these little societies. In each of them, a brother or a sister, according to their sex, was commissioned to take particular charge of the rest: when they met, they either read something of an edifying nature, sang, and prayed, or else conversed together: when these societies required a change, it was undertaken as soon as possible, after mature deliberation. But though the brethren and sisters generally left their societies unwillingly, yet the changes were particularly useful; since the members of the church became, in this manner, gradually acquainted with and heartily united to each other. But if, at any time, no advantage appeared from these bands, they were for a time given up, and after a while renewed with a visible blessing. Thus there was not a single individual to whom an opportunity was not afforded of usefully availing himself, both of the gifts and grace which the Lord had imparted to others, as also of being useful to others by the gift and grace vouchsafed to himself.

The Count took his departure on the 22d July, for Silesia, chiefly to visit Baron Von Gersdorf. On his return on the 4th August, the power of the Lord was obviously experienced by the church, both at Herrnhut and Bertholdsdorf, and the hearts of many were deeply affected.

The Count was now very solicitous to make the best use of this season of refreshing, and carefully to prevent what might prove detrimental. Although such an evident blessing was experienced in Herrnhut, yet thick clouds began to rise over the church, and especially over the Count. Under these circum-

stances, they were both unwilling and unable to depend upon an arm of flesh.

This gave rise to what is termed the hourly prayer. At first, twenty-four brethren and sisters bound themselves to continue in unceasing prayer, from one midnight to another, which was done by each in secret, and not in company with each other. The number soon increased to seventy-seven, exclusive of the awakened children, who also arranged something of a similar kind amongst themselves. Each of these individuals devoted one hour in the day or night, as best suited his convenience, to prayer before God, to filial converse with him, and to intercession for the church of Christ collectively, for the community, and, in the sequel, for all the churches of the Brethren and their choirs; for individuals, for the missionaries, the land in which they dwelt, the magistrates and teachers, the whole of Christendom, and the human race in general; so that by means of this arrangement, silence was kept neither day nor night before the Lord.

The Count took particular care, that the spiritual direction of the brethren and sisters should be committed to persons of their own sex: with regard to the latter, however, they had no voice nor authority in the direction of the congregation in Herrnhut, which is not authorized by Scripture or in the christian world. It had reference only to things in which it might be dangerous for brethren immediately to interfere. Those brethren who had to attend to the affairs of the sisters, and, on that account, were obliged to be in continual communication with the assistants above mentioned, were selected for the purpose, after mature consideration, and acknowledged in this capacity by the community.

The Count was one of these brethren from the beginning, and remained so till his end. It was thought that this office suited him best, because the talent he possessed of giving good spiritual advice in a variety of cases, was gratefully acknowledged; and the zeal he manifested against every thing that was contrary to the mind of Christ, as well as the outward respect which always distinguished him, prevented any personal attachment.

In this office, he took for his rule the instructions of Paul

to Timothy, to treat the aged women as mothers, the younger as sisters, and to exhort them with all pureness. Nor did he associate with all, but only with those sisters who were commissioned by the church to take charge of their own sex.

After having filled this office for several years, he resigned it for a time for certain reasons, which he stated to his fellow-labourers. But after two or three years, he was requested to undertake it anew; to which he consented, because he saw that circumstances required it.

The Count, besides this, gave himself much trouble in regulating the singing in the church, so as to render it acceptable to God and edifying to man. For this purpose, he made use of his secretary, Tobias Frederick, who was not only well versed in music himself, but also possessed a peculiar talent of teaching it to others. The singing-meetings, as they were called, commenced on the fourth Sunday after Easter, called in German, "Cantata," in which, first of all, whole hymns were sung, and then single verses on various subjects, in an affecting manner. The Count was not only well acquainted with verses from various hymns suitable for the subject, but was also able to connect them in such a manner, that it might be called a sermon in verse. These kind of meetings are still continued amongst the brethren, and found profitable.

The differences and disputes which arose amongst the members of the church, were settled by brethren appointed for that purpose, who were afterwards called the church-tribunal; but those things which had reference to the police, were brought before the magistrate at Bertholdsdorf.

In the year 1727, the *Agapes* or love-feasts customary in the primitive church, were revived in Herrnhut. Brotherly love, incited by the love of Christ, was the sole origin of this. The immediate and outward occasion of it, was the following circumstance. After the congregation had returned from receiving the sacrament on the 13th of August, at Bertholdsdorf, seven different little companies formed themselves, without premeditation. In order that they might continue together the more undisturbedly, the Count sent each of them something from his kitchen for dinner, which they ate together in love.

These love-feasts were afterwards frequently repeated, and are still observed; but, as may easily be supposed, not altogether for the sake of eating and drinking. On these occasions, they either gratefully call to mind the divine benefits they have received, singing and making melody in their hearts unto Him who has turned their mourning into joy—or renew their covenant with the Saviour. Love-feasts are also sometimes held either before or after the reception of the sacrament, but ought by no means to be confounded with the latter.

To the institutions of the Moravian church belong also the administering of various offices and employments, which have reference both to the inward and outward welfare of its members.

For this purpose, certain talented brethren were appointed as "assistants in doctrine," who, though they took no part in the ministerial functions, testified with success of the grace of God in Christ Jesus to the church.

Some persons, whose integrity and discernment might be relied on, were chosen overseers. These were to have a watchful eye over those of their own sex, in reference to the minutest circumstances which might be productive of dangerous consequences, in order timely to prevent every thing of a hurtful nature. When they perceived any thing of the kind, they were directed to notify it to other experienced, friendly, and sensible persons, who were called monitors, and who seriously and kindly admonished the individual. According to the circumstances of the case, they transferred its further investigation to the elders of the church or the magistracy.

Certain brethren and sisters were also appointed to wait upon the sick, in the various sections of the community. Persons were chosen for this purpose, who had it in their power to fill the office gratuitously.

The providing for the poor was committed to persons called almoners. The object of the Count and his fellow-labourers in this arrangement was, to assist those who, with all their diligence and economy, were unable to provide for their own maintenance.

He also appointed overseers of trades, whose office it was, not only to provide every one, as far as it was practicable, with

work, but also to take care that good work was delivered at a moderate rate.

The baptisms of the children born in Herrnhut, as well as the marriages and burials, were solemnized at Bertholdsdorf, by the Rev. Mr. Rothe, according to the customary Lutheran liturgy. But the Count did not fail, on such occasions, to accompany them with scriptural exhortations, and faithful admonitions.

When children were incorporated into the church of Christ by the sacred rite of baptism, he impressed upon the parents the duty of regarding their children as the property of Jesus, by virtue of the baptismal covenant, and that they were bound to bring them up for him.

Concerning marriage, he taught and testified both in the church, and in the instructions he gave to newly-married people, that to render it a holy state, it must be commenced and carried on according to the gospel and the mind of Christ.

With respect to the termination of the present state of existence, he constantly maintained, with a firm conviction, that children of God ought justly to regard it as a joyful going home from a state of wretchedness; and that such characters could not view it in any other light.

With reference to outward support, he reflected how he might best enable the poor inhabitants of Herrnhut to maintain themselves in an orderly and regular manner. His maxim was, that the members of a church ought to labour, and that even those who bore witness of the truth, and had to prove themselves as the ministers of God, even in hunger and nakedness, must depend still less than others on the portion allotted to them, but labour with their hands, that they might be burdensome to none, and have wherewith to give to him that needed: and he observes, that "to promote this object amongst members of the church, of various occupations, in hard times, exposed to the world's hatred, and whilst continually employed in labouring for their spiritual welfare, is one of the most important and worthy sources of solicitude to the authorities, civil and religious, whom God has connected with his church. They sin not in taking thought beforehand on these subjects; but they do sin if they neglect this duty."

He himself made it a matter of great concern, and reflected upon a variety of means how to procure work for the brethren; and the Lord graciously assisted them in their great poverty, and the hardships they endured.

About this time commenced the home-missions of the brethren, the sole object of which was, to accomplish something for the Saviour. Four such missions were undertaken in 1727—to Vogtland, Hungary, Saalfeld, and Denmark. Before the brethren departed, they were commended to the prayers of the church, and verses of benediction were sung on their taking leave. On their return, opportunity was afforded them of relating to the church, what the Lord had accomplished by their means. On this, thanksgiving and praise were rendered to him, and the persons, countries, and places where the brethren had been, were made the subjects of particular prayer.

The first mission was that of the two brethren, John and David Nitschman, to Prince Charles, the brother of Frederick IV. king of Denmark.

Whilst the Count was in Dresden, and these brethren were on the point of commencing their journey, his consort was delivered, on the 19th of September, of a son. On being informed of this the following day, he besought the prince, in a letter with which he entrusted these brethren, to become sponsor to his child. After his return from Dresden, the latter was baptized by the name of Christian Renatus. His prayer on this occasion was, that God would either devote this child entirely to his service, or soon remove him from the world.

On the 1st of November, the Count received a letter from the hereditary prince of Saxe-Saalfeld, in which he urgently invited him to visit him. Although the former hesitated much to leave Herrnhut at a time when, so to speak, the iron was in the fire, yet he had also many inducements to undertake the journey. In order to decide the point, he had recourse to casting lots, which resulted in his acceding to the wishes of the prince.

With respect to this circumstance, I wish to remark that the Count, in dubious cases, very often used the lot, when the clear letter of Scripture, which had always the pre-eminence with him, did not afford sufficient light; and he did so,

because he had solemnly promised the Saviour, not to live to himself, but unto Him; and not to do his own will, but his. He did not, however, make use of it in a doubtful manner, but with a heartfelt confidence, that his Lord would in this way make known to him what he wished him to do or leave undone.

He commenced his journey on the 12th of November. In Jena, where he arrived on the 17th, he became acquainted with Buddeus, and several other awakened teachers and students, who had been for some time united, and held their private meetings in Buddeus's house. At their request, he gave them a short address, at which I was also present; and we gave him our hands, with the assurance that we would follow Jesus.

He had many opportunities of speaking of that of which his heart was full, in Rudelstadt, not only with the illustrious individuals there, who gave him a kind reception, but also with some awakened inhabitants of the town. Amongst others, he also became acquainted there with Baron Wolf Von Metternich, with whom he had already corresponded.

At his first arrival in Saalfeld, he did not remain there long, for the hereditary prince was still at Coburg. He therefore only paid a few visits, wrote to the hereditary prince, and proceeded to Baireuth; but the Margrave being absent on the day of his arrival, he visited M. Silchmüller, chaplain to the court. The next day he was sent for to the court, and after dinner, the Margrave conversed with him for several hours.

On the 25th of November he reached Coburg, which gave great pleasure to the hereditary prince, who had occasioned the journey. His object in it was to avail himself of the Count's advice on various points, and even to make use of him in government affairs. He induced him to draw up a plan of government, and it is probable that the "Extract of a Plan of Government for certain German Princes," which constitutes the first piece in his printed "Theological Reflections," derived its origin from this project.

On the 27th, the prince departed for Saalfeld, and took the Count with him in the carriage alone, that he might speak with him the more freely, not only upon several subjects of a temporal nature, but also on christian experience. The company

cheered themselves in Gräefenthal with singing hymns in the church, which the hereditary prince accompanied on the organ. In Saalfeld, the Count gave several addresses at the palace, at the desire of the prince, on the virtues of "Him, who hath called us out of darkness into his marvellous light," and of the blessedness he has purchased for us. He also caused a sermon of Mr. Rothe's, "On false Supports," to be printed there. The prince's consort, who lay ill at the time, also expressly requested a visit from the Count.

He afterwards returned to Rudelstadt, to visit a sister of Duke Christian's, who was likewise ill. She made him very welcome, and though extremely weak, was much pleased with his conversation and his prayer. On the 2d of December, a parting hymn was sung, which he had made for the occasion; after which he again repaired to Saalfeld, and after a fatiguing journey, reached Herrnhut on the 13th of December, by way of Dresden.

Before closing the narrative of events in 1727, I must mention a poem which he made on the decease of Professor Franké. This great Evangelist, whose labours for the cause of Christ were so blessed to all the world, notwithstanding the opposition he experienced, entered into his rest in the month of June. His dissolution was notified to the Count, by his widow, and he was most deeply affected by it.* From these feelings emanated his incomparable poem upon him, which may be found in the collection of his German poems. He that is acquainted with the particulars of his life, and the Lord's gracious guidance which he experienced both inwardly and outwardly, will be astonished at finding every thing compressed in this poem in few words.

With respect to the Count's inward state during that year, I will only remark, that he maintained a filial and confidential intercourse with the Lord Jesus, the object of his affections, who was so gracious to him, that he sometimes sent an immediate answer, when he made his requests known to him in prayer, of which he adduces several instances in his journal.

He was, as we have already observed, a bold professor of

* See Franké's Life by Guericke.—*Seeley & Co.*

Jesus Christ, before persons of all ranks. On these occasions he was wont at that time to be very prolix, and often spoke for hours together, in the idea that every thing ought to be proved.

Respecting his occasionally harsh and striking expressions, particularly in his "Theological Reflections," about this time, he says himself, "I am not satisfied with myself for having used language which was too strong, and for having sometimes acted with too little moderation. I had then a head like Mordecai's; but since I have been in the ministry, my neck is become more flexible."

The first half of the year 1728 he spent chiefly at Herrnhut, greatly occupied with his labours. About this time he began to speak upon a passage of Scripture, or a verse of a hymn, in the singing-meetings, which were held every evening, and this gave occasion to the daily "watch-words;" for when the singing-meeting was over, he gave the text, or verse of a hymn, on which he had spoken, to the brethren and sisters as a watch-word for the following day. He made the commencement on the 3d of May, and gave the following verse as a watchword :—

"'Twas love that urged him from above;
'Twas love that forced him from his throne.
Then let me give him love for love,
And once more yield him up his own."

This year also the fast and thanksgiving-days were instituted. On these occasions the Scriptures were read, accompanied by exposition and singing; then followed accounts respecting the extension of Christ's kingdom, as well as letters from various of the brethren to the church. The solemnities were concluded by prayer, during which all present knelt down.

The first fast and thanksgiving-day was held on the 10th of February. Amongst other things, distant countries were spoken of, namely, Turkey, Ethiopia, Greenland, Lapland, &c. When it was regarded as impossible that these countries should ever be visited, the Count stated, that he believed the Lord was able and willing to afford the brethren grace and strength for that purpose. On the 20th of April, which was the second fast and thanksgiving-day, a "short account of the Waldensian, Bohemian, and Moravian brethren" was read, as

well as journeys to Halle, Stockholm, England, &c. deliberated and decided upon.

He frequently held conferences with the elders, teachers, overseers, monitors, almoners, assistants, and those that waited on the sick, and practically instructed them in the fundamental ideas on which a community is based, and to which every one ought to pay attention in the administration of his office.

A number of young men removed, on the 12th of February, into a house of their own, and regulated it according to the rules of their choir. To these he gave lessons in writing, instructed them likewise in the principles of geography, and also gave them an idea of the history of the kingdom of Christ.

In his addresses to the single men, he explained his sentiments with respect to their particular circumstances. He did the same in his homiletical addresses to the young women; and took care that their little societies should be wisely regulated, and provided with faithful overseers of their own sex. The latter assembled also occasionally in the apartments of the Countess, to speak with her respecting their labours.

He was particularly interested for newly married people. He took pains to lay aside the vain usages at weddings, and gave them the needful instruction from Scripture, how they ought to preserve themselves free from pollution in spirit, soul, and body. He likewise paid attention to the operation of the Spirit on the hearts of the children, and faithfully sought to promote it as much as possible.

He had also the pleasure to see, that at this period a real and heartfelt desire manifested itself, both in young and old, to become vitally acquainted with the Saviour, and be made partakers of his grace.

But with all the success that attended his labours, he occasionally met with opposition; yet he very wisely distinguished between those who attacked him personally, and such as opposed the purity and truth as it is in Jesus. The former he regarded as a matter of minor importance, when the individual, at the same time, participated in the blessing bestowed upon the congregation in general. But if any one sought merely carnal liberty, and not only acted himself in opposition to the regulations of the church, but also seduced others and gained

adherents, he resisted such conduct,—not with the civil power, but in the power of the Spirit. He endeavoured carefully to avoid all strife and disputes, according to the words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 16.

This new phenomenon of the Moravian church excited increasing attention, and produced, in many, a desire to become thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the thing. This occasioned not only much correspondence, but also frequent journeys of the brethren. They likewise received many visits, from intelligent and sincere lovers of the truth, who, not content with uncertain reports, followed the counsel of Jesus, when he said, " Come and see ! "

The Count was not only at all times solicitous that strangers should be treated with due decorum, but that they should also obtain thorough information respecting the real state of things; and he frequently acted, himself, as an incomparable attendant upon them.

His consort, who was also his faithful helpmate in the work which the Lord had assigned him, undertook, this year, the office of matron, to the benefit of many of the brethren and sisters who served the community. From this time her house became the abode of many of the Saviour's servants, and a resting-place for pilgrims. The Lord added his blessing; so that what was most needful could be provided.

According to outward appearance, her house was like any other little court, provided with attendants of both sexes, for every species of employment; but he who considered it attentively, soon found that the whole had reference to the Saviour's cause. For she took many of the brethren and sisters into her service because they were employed in the church; although there were others, also, who had a family, and carried on their business, yet, at the same time, ministered to the church, and ate their own bread.

The Count, moreover, paid attention to the observance of good order amongst his domestics. He appointed Tobias Frederick his major-domo; and drew up a series of domestic regulations, which were read to them all. He writes respecting this :—" I gave them, besides, a short address upon the words, ' One that ruleth well his own house, having his children in

subjection with all gravity;' and observed that from that time cordial affection and unanimity prevailed amongst them."

The Count, also, this year, laid out his garden in Herrnhut, with the intention of affording work to the poor when unable to earn any thing.

About this time, a new excitement and revival were experienced amongst awakened individuals in Bertholdsdorf. Mr. Rothe felt induced to explain himself, in a brotherly manner, to the church at Herrnhut, which had felt some unpleasantness respecting certain things that had occurred, and to ask forgiveness for his error. The answer of the church signed by all its members, was so cordial and affecting, that Mr. Rothe came to Herrnhut, and renewed with the church the covenant of peace and love, to the joy of all the brethren and sisters, who blessed and praised God on account of it.

On this, he assembled the awakened individuals in Bertholdsdorf, whose number was considerable, with the intention of forming a brotherly union amongst them, according to the example of the church at Herrnhut. The Count was present on the occasion, and rejoiced at the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, which powerfully manifested itself; but suffered Mr. Rothe, according to the arrangement made with him, to act according to his own views and convictions.

When the latter saw that his people were desirous of thus cordially uniting, he read the statutes and regulations to them, to the observance of which the brethren and sisters in Herrnhut had bound themselves on the same day the preceding year. After clearly explaining the matter, and mature deliberation, for which several days were required, these worthy people unanimously declared, that they would, individually and collectively, subscribe to them; which was accordingly done.

The desire of several pious persons in England to receive more copious intelligence respecting the manifestation of Divine grace in the church at Herrnhut, which had been made known to them by letter, caused the Count to propose a mission thither. After he had deliberated upon it in the elder's conference, he proposed it to the whole church; and, with its approbation, the brethren, David Nitschman, afterwards bishop of the Moravian church, John Töeltschig, and Wentzel Neisser,

the elder, were appointed for that purpose, and dispatched. They travelled by way of Jena, with letters of recommendation from the Count to Buddeus, and some of the teachers and students with whom he had become acquainted the previous year. I was myself in Jena at that time, and it caused us great delight to receive and entertain these brethren. They had various important documents with them, relative to the later history of the Moravian church; which some of us, at their request, translated into Latin, during the period of their abode in Jena; and Dr. Buddeus recommended them, in a letter, to the Rev. Mr. Ziegenhagen, chaplain to his Britannic Majesty.

A mission of the brethren was also undertaken to the venerable Doctor and Professor Buddeus, in Jena, above mentioned. The elders of the church at Herrnhut wrote to him on the 14th April, 1728, to the following effect:—"That they had heard from their superintendent, that twenty-six years ago he had published John Amos Commenius's History of the Bohemian Brethren; and, in a public discourse, had mightily reproved the world on account of the decayed state of church discipline, whilst he had borne testimony to the godly forefathers of the brethren, as having afforded a model of a true christian church. They therefore besought him to edite the history above mentioned, in the German language, together with its appendixes, and present it to the church in Herrnhut; at the same time they added a statement of their present constitution."

He received this letter, and the brethren who were the bearers of it, very kindly; and, in his reply, stated that he would, with the greatest pleasure, fulfil their request respecting the History of the Bohemian Brethren. He commenced the work, but, for certain reasons, it was never completed.

By letters, received from Jena, the Count was assured that a great blessing had rested upon the addresses he had delivered there the previous year, both as regarded all who heard them, as well as those to whom some part of them had been recapitulated. This occasioned several letters on both sides; and the students of Jena having expressly invited the Count to repeat his visit to them, a journey thither was finally resolved upon.

I know, from my own experience, that the grace of God operated powerfully amongst us at that time; and some of us attained, by faith in Jesus Christ, to the delightful enjoyment of the blessings which he has purchased for us by his merits, sufferings, and death. But the major part, by the preaching of the law, which was inculcated more than the gospel of Christ, feared God rather than loved him. We were admonished, with great seriousness, to repent, and be grieved and mourn on account of our sins. We were taught that every one ought to feel as a malefactor when led to the place of execution. This was good in its degree; but caused those to lead a mournful and painful life who did not understand that grace and forgiveness of sins is to be found alone in the sacrifice of Jesus. At the same time, the difficulties and conscientious scruples which are wont to occur in the ministerial office, were faithfully pointed out to us: but we were ignorant how to preserve our consciences unspotted under such circumstances.

It was in this state that the Count found us, on his arrival at Jena, with his consort and children, in the month of July. Although, at that time, he did not possess the clear insight into the gospel of Jesus which he afterwards enjoyed, yet we saw his zeal for the Lord: his words were blessed to us, and his conversation was edifying.

He lodged outside the gates, in a summer residence which he had hired. We, as well as those that were awakened amongst the townspeople, received permission to attend his family devotions, after requesting liberty to do so. The brotherly union and fellowship which we observed in his servants, all of whom, with one exception, were brethren and sisters, excited a desire for a similar connexion amongst ourselves.

If we had gone simply and artlessly to work, nearly a hundred students, who were already in some degree united together, might have devised and accomplished many good regulations amongst themselves; such as assisting the poor, attending the sick, avoiding offence, preventing errors and mistakes, and exercising themselves in a godly life.

But the idea occurred to us of endeavouring to attain our object, under the form of a *Collegii pastoralis practici*, the

superintendence of which was offered to Dr. Buddeus, after the Count had considered the matter with him, and he had approved of it. But the affair came to nothing. Buddeus was unable to undertake the management of it, objections were made to it, and all representations against them proving fruitless, the project was abandoned.

When the Count heard of it, he wrote a letter on the occasion to the members of the *Collegii pastoralis practici*, encouraging them to commence the fraternal union, in the name of Jesus, without human protection and authority. And even should the number be reduced down to a few, yet they ought to consider themselves as a salt that was left, and an example to and first-fruits of the German universities, fully assured that the Divine blessing would rest upon them.

The opinions in Jena, at that time, respecting the Count were very various and contradictory. Some were unable sufficiently to extol him, whilst others entirely rejected him. It was even apprehended that some evil might befall him from some of the Jena students; but as soon as he appeared amongst them, they could not forbear treating him with respect. Once, when Mr. Winckler, who had written a dissertation upon the eighteenth chapter of Isaiah, respecting the future conversion of Ethiopia, consented to be publicly opposed by the Count, and an uncommonly numerous assembly of students were present; they listened with great attention, and testified great esteem for him. At the close, he gave them an impressive address, which was well received by them; and it was afterwards asserted to have been useful and blessed to several.

He had much intercourse with the professors of divinity, two of whom lived in a state of disunion, in consequence of a misunderstanding. He endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation, and had the pleasure to see that his efforts were not entirely fruitless. He had also confidential intercourse with the reigning prince, the Duke of Saxe-Eisenach, who was at that time in Jena. This prince having sent an intimation to the Count respecting the prayer-meetings he held, he afterwards assured the latter, that he had no doubt that every thing which took place on these occasions was good and edifying; and that he only desired him to be careful that

the meetings did not become too numerous, and thus excite a sensation.

Several individuals, who had hitherto lived as Separatists, attended, after this time, church and sacrament. One of them, who had disapproved of infant baptism, had his child baptized, and requested the Count to stand sponsor, to which the latter willingly consented.

He made several little excursions whilst at Jena. He had been invited by General Von Wutgenau to visit Duke Ernest Augustus at Weimar, to whom he had previously paid his respects in Jena. The Duke received him with much pleasure, and had a confidential conversation with him on certain affairs of government, probably in the intention of drawing him into his service: but the Count showed him clearly, both verbally and in writing, the way in which a ruler might make his subjects happy.

During this visit, and when he repeated it in September, he formed a cordial acquaintance with awakened individuals, both at court and in the town, which was not without a blessing. He was at Gera, just at the time when the Crown Prince of Denmark arrived with his consort. They, as well as the Margravine, the Princess's mother, conversed with the Count on that of which his heart was full,—Christ and his kingdom. They expressed, at the same time, most warmly, how much they loved and esteemed the brethren, with some of whom they had become acquainted.

On his journey to Hirschberg, he found in Cotzau the widow of the Margrave Albert of Brandenburg-Culmbach, with her eldest prince, and rejoiced at the grace which manifested itself in them.

In Hirschberg he had the happiness of meeting Count Reuss and his consort, and the latter renewed her determination to devote herself entirely to Him, who had bought her with his blood.

From Coburg he wrote to the Countess, that he had been heartily refreshed in the company of individuals there who loved our Lord Jesus Christ.

Whilst in Jena, he received intelligence by a messenger from Herrnhut, that all the good regulations introduced there

were in danger of being overthrown. Certain individuals, amongst whom was the Rev. Mr. Rothe, sought to persuade the brethren, in the absence of the Count, to give up the name of Bohemian and Moravian brethren, and call themselves Lutherans. They would thus not only escape the persecutions which would otherwise unavoidably await them, but would also gain universal esteem, and be the cause of doing much good. By representations of this nature, they brought over some of the brethren, and especially Christian David, to their side; and their address to the church on the subject was well received. There were, however, others who saw further, and seriously opposed the measure.

The Count was much perplexed at this news: he foresaw that by this means a great part of the Moravian brethren would be induced to detach themselves entirely from the Lutheran church. But his chief concern was, lest the brethren should, in this manner, lose their liberty as a church of Christ, for which their forefathers had hazarded their property and their lives. Besides this, he believed, that if the brethren called themselves Lutherans, and renounced the name of Brethren, with the intention of escaping suffering, they would by no means act as became a church of Christ.

After mature deliberation with the brethren whom he had about him, a protestation was drawn up, for the present and the future, against all such like proceedings, and signed by David Nitschman, George Böehnisch, and Matthew Miksch. The day following, he forwarded to Herrnhut a serious protest against all innovations in the affairs of the Moravian brethren, under his own hand and seal.

The position of the church in Herrnhut, at that time, which the Count, in his candid manner, neither sought to conceal nor palliate, occasioned me, and the rest of the brethren in Jena, to write an affecting letter to the church, in which we admonished them, in a friendly manner, not to suffer themselves to be carried away from the ancient fraternity and simplicity. The letter was signed by upwards of a hundred teachers and students at Jena, and presented to the Count.

Towards the end of September, he travelled to Halle, in compliance with the pressing invitation of his friends there.

Above a hundred awakened students, who stood in heartfelt connexion with their similarly-minded brethren in Jena, had received intelligence of the intimate bond of love which had been formed amongst them. Being very desirous themselves of a closer union with each other, they requested the Count to establish a regulation similar to that in Jena. He hesitated, however, to enter into the matter with them, and pointed out the reason of his scruples in his answer to their letter.

However, he received many visits both from the teachers and students, and had frequent opportunities of preaching godliness in Christ Jesus. In the high-school, he spoke from the words, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes."

Many things resulted from the Count's visit to Jena and Halle, which, in the sequel, were brought against him. He had entered into controversial discourse with several persons, who maintained their individual systems of divinity, in which he sometimes adduced positions which seemed strange to them. Hence a dispute arose; but he defended his positions with arguments, against which they often found little to say. This vexed many of them, so that they began to believe that, with the good he possessed, he held also many erroneous opinions. This was afterwards spread abroad, both by word and writing, and, as usual, magnified by report.

Besides this, when doctrinal points were spoken of into which he had no clear insight, he was wont, in his free manner, openly to declare his want of conviction respecting them. Now, though he did not mean to say he denied them, yet it was so construed by different individuals; and however often he subsequently expressed his true sentiments, yet it was different to bring such persons to think otherwise. He also occasionally brought forward positions like those above mentioned, for the purpose of discovering how much stability they possessed in their divinity. But because they did not take it thus, such like conversations produced no good effect.

I must however mention, that he did not speak in this manner with all the learned: for with those who sincerely sought nothing else than how they might please the Saviour,

he never entered upon such topics, especially when he perceived that they were troubled on account of their sins, and hungered after the grace of God in Christ.

From this time, a party was formed against the Count, which was at one time stronger, and at another weaker, but never ceased until his end. Those who either really loved the Saviour, or wished it to be thought they did, or were desirous of doing so, were divided in their views concerning the Count. Some regarded him as a faithful servant of the Lord, and loved him cordially; but others conceived a great mistrust of him; and it was these latter who formed the party against him. Besides their mistrust of him, they were also afraid of his projects. They inferred from the regulations he had made amongst the awakened students and townspeople in Jena, as well as from his discourses, that he intended to introduce similar things amongst the awakened in other places; and this appeared suspicious to them.

I cannot, however, deny that the Count really believed that awakened individuals ought not to rest satisfied with holding private meetings, and exercising themselves in praying, reading, singing, and speaking, which was at that time pretty customary. He held, according to Scripture, that the various gifts which God graciously imparts to believers, by the Holy Spirit, ought to be better ascertained and employed, and hoped that the church of Christ would be thereby increasingly edified. Seeing also how the Lord had blessed such institutions at Herrnhut, he could not avoid speaking of them to others: at the same time he always premised, that the regulations for every place should be made according to circumstances, and not be formed without distinction upon the model of those in other places.

Amongst other reasons, why many pious people were opposed to the Count, was, in particular, the great earnestness and zeal he manifested in the Saviour's cause. This was regarded as unwise, and as drawing down many sufferings which might probably be avoided by going cautiously to work. Whilst he regarded much that is usually called wisdom, as nothing else than the fear of man, and escaping the cross, and believed that it was better boldly to profess the truth

and suffer for it.; and because he did not keep this opinion to himself, but occasionally expressed it freely—the repugnance of those that were opposed to him increased.

The antipathy of this party to him was that which troubled him the most, even till his end. He gradually became so strange to them, that they at length quite mistook him. They eagerly listened to the statements of people, who had either abandoned the Moravian church, or were otherwise disinclined towards the brethren; since they already cherished suspicion, mistrust, and fear of the Count. For the same reason, the good they heard of him was suspected by them and scarcely credited. Hence arose a chain of opponents, who, though not united in heart, agreed in assailing the Count. The difference amongst them consisted only in this, that some were opposed to him openly, others in secret; some more, and others less: nor did they all act from the same motives.

The Count, whilst feeling it difficult to bear with the conduct of the opposite party, was not always satisfied with that of those who were for him: for when the latter heard the sentiments expressed against the Count by the former, some of them grew warm, and could not comprehend how people could act in such a manner, who boasted of the Saviour and his grace. Hence arose many things which ought to have been otherwise.

On the 27th of September the Count left Halle, and returned to Herrnhut, where he arrived on the 12th of October. The divisions which had arisen there in his absence, rendered his meeting the church an unpleasant affair. He acted on the reserve, and visited the brethren less frequently than usual. He behaved kindly towards Mr. Rothe, and those who had caused the disturbance. For a time, he did not speak in the meetings, which, however, he regularly attended. After some days were over, he spoke fully with the elders respecting the melancholy occurrences. On its appearing that Christian David had taken a prominent part in it, he was dismissed from his eldership in peace and love. He subsequently sincerely and penitentially confessed his fault.

The Count afterwards gave a brief narrative of the remarkable events of his journey, at a church-meeting, and delivered a cordial address, which penetrated to the hearts of his hearers.

At length, on the 17th of October, the matter reached its desired termination. The Count preached very impressively, from Gal. v. 9, 10: "A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump. I have confidence in you through the Lord, that ye will be none otherwise minded: but he that troubleth you shall bear his judgment, whosoever he be." The consequence was, that the party who had bound themselves to lay aside the name of Brethren, began to see the prejudice and danger which would arise from it to the brethren.

On this, the Count devoted himself still more faithfully to the church at Herrnhut. In a conference with the elders, it was found requisite to choose four other brethren in the place of the four who had hitherto filled that office. After this was done, the Count deliberated with them and the overseers and monitors concerning the statutes of the church; the whole of those hitherto in force were discussed and approved of, after which, all the offices were suitably filled.

Scruples had arisen respecting the statutes first agreed to. It was pretended and asserted in other parts, that the brethren had accepted them as a confession of their own, and had thus laid the foundation for a new religious edifice. In order to oppose this unfounded idea, and avoid all appearance of dangerous innovations, the Count comprehended the substance of the ancient statutes in short precepts, which were nothing else than manorial commands and prohibitions.

These renewed statutes were completed on the 6th of Nov., when, after a short and impressive address from the Count, they were read over, so as to form a series of questions, which were put to the assembly. At length, after the whole had been agreed to, it was decided not to require the signatures of the brethren, but to consider all who dwelt in Herrnhut as under the jurisdiction of the statutes.

From these new statutes, I will only make the following extracts, which may serve as an answer to certain accusations which have been brought against the Count by his opponents:—

"Herrnhut is for ever declared free from all soccage and vassalage, with all its inhabitants; and should any succeeding lords of the manor wish to compel them to it, they are not

bound to obey, nor can they ever be obliged to it by oath, kindness, or severity.

"Every inhabitant of Herrnhut shall profess himself subject to the civil authorities, and that such are ordained of God.

"Every inhabitant shall work, and eat his own bread; but he that is unable to do so from age, sickness, or inability, shall be supported by the community.

"No dispute shall last longer than a week, nor shall any complaint be lodged (which must be done within the week) until kindness has been employed in vain. The affair must then be brought before the elders, and be settled by them; so that on the same day the plaintiff and defendant shall be separated, and the affair terminated at the cost of him who is proved to be in the wrong.

"No meetings are permitted to be held without light.

"The church at Herrnhut is satisfied with the whole liturgy in use at Bertholdsdorf, at the time when these regulations were formed—inasmuch as it regards the Moravian and Bohemian brethren—and thus clearly testify, that they do not seek to be sectarians, separatists, or such people as place their religion in outward and indifferent observances. They retain, however, their liberty of conscience, inward connexion with each other, and all that the church of the brethren in Moravia and Bohemia has always retained; yet so, that all who are desirous of relinquishing the point, are perfectly at liberty to do so.

"In all that remains to be regulated amongst us, love and simplicity are to be observed."

Besides the brotherly love which the Count felt towards every individual member of the church, he was particularly united to his immediate fellow-labourers. He was very anxious, not only to preserve this bond of love with them inviolate, but also to increase its cordiality: hence, after all the meetings were over on the Sunday, which was seldom before ten o'clock, and often later, he generally requested them to stay, and held a love-feast with them. They then returned thanks to the Saviour with feelings of humility and affected hearts, whilst singing a few suitable verses, and renewed their covenant to be faithful to the Saviour and to each other: after which they gave each other

their hands, with the kiss of love; and the sisters did the same amongst themselves. If any of them required to be admonished, they were not admitted to this love-feast, until every thing was settled. If a misunderstanding existed amongst the brethren or sisters, they did not rest until the matter was cleared up; for they did not wish to appear before the Saviour from habit, but in sincerity and truth, and as one heart and soul: and it was then experienced, that the Saviour took pleasure in this little society, and that he was really in their midst.

About this time, the Count was much concerned respecting certain individuals who were persecuted on account of the truth of the gospel. Grievous complaints had been made at the Imperial Court against three Lutheran clergymen, who, because they faithfully sought the salvation of the souls intrusted to their care, were called Pietists, according to the evil practice of those times. The books which were written against the Pietists were resorted to; and the errors, irregularities, and other improper things, of which the Pietists were accused in them, were also laid to the charge of these worthy and godly men. Other things were added, which were brought against each in particular, in consequence of which, one of them was exiled, another much oppressed, and a third cast into prison.

This very much grieved the Count, and because he was fearful of worse consequences, he wrote to Father Töenneman, the Emperor's confessor, and boldly professed himself as belonging to these individuals, who were sincere and pious preachers, according to the Augsburg confession. The Confessor promised in his reply, that he would do every thing which would contribute most to the preservation of the good understanding between those of the Catholic religion and the Augsburg confession, but requested the *speciem facti* with respect to one of the clergymen. On this the Count wrote, not only to Father Töenneman, but also to the Emperor himself. His agent in Vienna, however, having informed him that the affair had already gone too far, and that the letter would be of no avail, he withdrew it. His further proceedings in the affair will appear in the sequel.

Melchior Nitschman, in company with George Schmidt, had

undertaken a journey to Salzburg, from the impulse of his heart, in the spring of this year, with the intention of comforting the awakened in that place with the truths of the gospel: they were, however, arrested in Bohemia, whilst on their way thither, being charged with intending to make proselytes in Moravia. The Count being thoroughly acquainted with these two brethren, and knowing the object of their journey, sent a complete statement of the affair to the provincial government. In this document, he professes himself as belonging to these brethren, and describes them as people, who, though they had a desire to speak with every one who wished to hear them concerning our Lord Jesus Christ, and of conversion to him, yet boldly contradicts the assertion that they intended to bring over persons from one creed to another, or to induce them to leave their native land.

The Count next applied to Prince Von Lichtenstein, and entreated his gracious intercession, but all his efforts continued fruitless for a while. The year following, Melchior Nitschman died in prison, at Schildberg, and six years afterwards, George Schmidt was set at liberty.

In 1729, the fast-days, which were instituted at the commencement of the previous year, he held every four weeks. He also wished the sacrament to be received every month at Bertholdsdorf, and deliberated with his assistants how it might be accomplished.

He made also another arrangement respecting the "watch-words," which we have already alluded to: instead of giving them to the brethren at the singing-meeting for the succeeding day, the following arrangement was made:—Passages from the Bible, or verses of hymns, suited for doctrine, reproof, and instruction in righteousness, were placed in a little box, one of which was drawn by an elder in the evening for the following day, and given to the brother who was the visiter for the day, and who carried it with him from house to house. It was also his office to pay attention to every circumstance in each house, and to make a report of it to the elders in the evening.

The Lord Jesus having washed the feet of his disciples, and said at the same time expressly, "If I, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as

I have done," (John xiii. 14, 15 :) he took these words as he found them, and was of opinion, that feet-washing ought not to be omitted in a true church of Christ. In this opinion he was confirmed by the subterfuges of certain sectarians, who refrained from attending the sacrament, and who, when reminded that Christ had instituted it, were wont to answer, " If every thing which he has instituted ought to be retained, why ought not the washing of feet to be so, which the Lord has expressly enjoined ?"

The Count regarded it as necessary, at this time, to take a decisive step against the various incorrect reports which were spread respecting Herrnhut. He therefore afforded the brethren an opportunity, in the presence of substantial witnesses, and of an Imperial notary-public, to explain themselves upon several points which seemed to be of importance. They did so with much freedom. The Rev. Mr. Rothe, of Bertholdsdorf, was also present, with others of the neighbouring clergy.

These declarations of the brethren, which were given in answer to certain questions proposed to them, were framed into an official document by the notary, and signed by all the inhabitants of Herrnhut, who professed themselves as belonging to the Moravian church.

This document was also afterwards publicly signed by the Count and Mr. Rothe. The former declared, at the same time, as lord of the manor, and the latter as pastor, that they would not fail, as much as depended upon them, to grant the brethren all their reasonable requests and demands, as long as they continued in their unsectarian and peaceable deportment.

In this notarial document, there are certain points which I notice, because they were entirely peculiar to the Count. Thus, for instance, the brethren say,—

1. That they will acknowledge none of their descendants for a brother or a sister, whose heart has not been converted to God.

2. That they acknowledge no public church of God, except where the pure and unadulterated word of God is preached, and its members live according to it as holy children of God.

3. That they will not separate from any one who believes in Jesus Christ his Lord, not by his own power and reason, but

because he is called by the Holy Ghost, through the medium of the gospel, enlightened with his gifts, and is preserved and sanctified in true faith; even though, by the seduction of others, or his own want of understanding, he may occasionally misinterpret the Scriptures.

4. That the want of discipline is a great defect in those that are awakened, and their refusal to put it away: hence, all the disorders which are caused by any individual, must be ascribed solely to him with whom they originate, but not to the brethren at large.

5. That they will not cast away the names of brother and sister, for they are simple and scriptural; but the addition of Bohemian or Moravian are to be regarded as epithets productive of sectarianism and division.

6. That they are not satisfied because their forefathers have been good people, but lay the foundation for themselves in their own justification and renewal, and seek to be conscious that they are passed from death unto life.

7. That they will not love their own lives more than any single divine truth; for it is better to lay down our lives than to deny such a divine truth; and that denying it, though with the intention of doing good, is improper and sinful.

In October, the Count, accompanied by the Barons Von Wattewille and Gersdorf, took their departure for Vogtland and Thuringia. His unexpected arrival caused great joy in Ebersdorf. His real motive for making this visit was the news of the mighty work of Divine grace upon the hearts of the noble family there and other individuals, in which he felt the more interested, since God had made use of him as the instrument in awakening most of them. He devoted the days he spent there, not only to mutual edification, but also inquired into the particular cases of each, and had therefore occasion both for sorrow and for joy.

From thence he repaired with his company to Saalfeld; he did not, however, make any stay there, but merely greeted the Duke with a few lines, to which he received a cordial reply. He had here the pleasure of seeing again his friend Wallbaum, from the seminary at Halle: the latter, who had been in France after the Count, spoke in high terms of the affection

and tenderness with which the Cardinal de Noailles had mentioned him. "The dear Count (said he) set an edifying example to our whole country;" at the same time exhorting those present to follow it.

The Barons Von Wattewille and Gersdorf paid a visit to the Duke, which afforded pleasure on both sides. They stated that he possessed a heartfelt love for the Saviour, which he expressed by saying, that he would rather be torn in pieces than let himself be separated from the Lord Jesus.

Meanwhile, the Count had preceded them to Ulstädt, in order to visit Madam Von Schwarzenfels, a lady who spent her widowhood in true godliness and confidential intercourse with the Lord Jesus. He there found two teachers from Jena, who had come to meet him, with whom, and other friends from Jena and Rudelstadt, he conversed on many subjects respecting the kingdom of Christ.

Some of the brethren of the Jena connexion requested him to visit that place; and he complied, notwithstanding the critical situation of things at the time. By means of a certain wicked and crafty individual, who, though not belonging to them, and almost unknown and even opposed to them, but who wore the exterior of piety—calumny and disgrace had fallen upon the little flock of the brethren at Jena. Besides this, a commission was being held at that very time, to investigate the complaints which had been made by some of the theologians to the Saxon courts, respecting the free-schools; nor was the ferment, excited by the arrangements commenced the year before, yet allayed.

The Count's arrival was immediately made known. A part of the united brethren soon assembled in Professor Lehman's house, and sent to request his company. On entering, he stated, that he brought affliction upon them unwillingly; but they declared, that they would not shun suffering for Christ's sake, but rather thank God for it. During his pious converse with them, the number increased to above a hundred. He prayed with the company on his knees. The hymn, *Salve, crux beata, salve!* (Hail, blessed cross, &c.) was joyfully sung; and on their requesting him to give them an address, he considered the words of the hymn,

"*Jesu clemens, pie Deus!*" which produced a powerful effect on their hearts.

During a sleepless night, he wrote from Jena to the church in Herrnhut. In this letter he observes, "How can I better employ my sleepless hours, than by remembering dear Herrnhut and the individuals there? O that the faithful love of God may let us see and hear nothing but good of you all." He mentions every inhabitant by name, and says to each what his state required, because he knew them all, as far as it was possible for a man to know.

I will here briefly mention his efforts in favour of a preacher, who, by the king's command, had been imprisoned for upwards of three years in the Frederick's hospital at Berlin.

This individual, whose name was Victor Christopher Tuchtfeld, took great offence at the divines in Halle, to whom, however, he owed much, and accused them of departing from their first love. He went still further. He regarded the whole external constitution of the church as blameable. He wished liberty of speech in the church not to be confined to the preacher, but to be extended to every Christian, according to the usage in the times of the apostles; and that public preaching ought not to be limited to churches and pulpits; but streets, market-places, and every open space should be used for that purpose, according to the example of the prophets, Christ, and his disciples. He went into some of the churches in Halle, and expressed himself in severe and offensive language against going to church, which he regarded as improper, and against the teachers, whom he looked upon as usurpers. In the hall of the Orphan-house, where a great number of persons who followed him assembled, he spoke, in very free terms, against the pious men whom God had employed in originating the Halle institutions. He also expressed his peculiar opinions and doctrines in writings, which he published, and preached in Berlin, Potsdam, Wettin, &c. in the open air, in church-yards and market-places, and in the fields and roads, until at length he was arrested.

The Count could by no means justify such a mode of procedure: but because he did not think the man's intentions were evil, nor regarded the conduct of the theologians towards

him as correct, since he thought it possible to bring him off from his perverted ways in a more scriptural manner, he therefore interceded with the Lord for him in his severe imprisonment, recommended him to the church at Herrnhut for the same purpose, and sought, by some little assistance, to alleviate his painful situation. At length he ventured to petition the king himself on the subject; in which he stated, that though he would not justify Tuchtfeld's conduct, yet, if his Majesty would graciously dismiss him from prison, he would take him for a season into his own house, and, with the help of experienced persons, against whom he was not prejudiced, seek to moderate his zeal. Possibly an useful instrument in the church of Christ might still be made of him.*

He received a gracious answer from the king, which was favourable to Tuchtfeld. The latter had, first of all, a more convenient apartment assigned him in the hospital, and, after some time, regained his liberty, of which he informed the Count in a letter from Leipzic, dated June, 1730.

The Count commenced, this year, a cordial and friendly correspondence with Daniel Ernest Jablonsky, chief chaplain to the court in Berlin: the latter was a grandson of the well-known Johannes Amos Commenius, bishop of the Brethren. His father, Commenius's son-in-law, had been consecrated bishop of the Brethren in 1662, in the hope of better times. He himself had also received the episcopal consecration in 1699, at the synod held at Lissa, in Poland.

The Count thought it but just to give him a complete account of the collecting together of the Bohemian and Moravian brethren at Herrnhut, and of the grace of God which had manifested itself there. In his reply, Jablonsky expresses his uncommon joy and heartfelt delight, that God had so graciously preserved the little flock of the Bohemian and Moravian brethren, otherwise so despicable in the eyes of the world, who, in their times, had been the harbingers and the morning dawn of the Reformation. "I adore," says he, "the gracious guidance of our God! May he further graciously cherish this little flock, and raise up, in future

* This individual afterwards went to Berlenburg, where he was made court-chaplain.

times, such nursing fathers for them, as he has so wonderfully done in the instance of your grace's own self! . . . . My forefathers were born in the church of the brethren, and I was begotten in exile in Poland. I have been brought up in the same church, and have imbibed a love for it with my mother's milk."

The church at Herrnhut had to experience much of an unpleasant nature, in this and succeeding years, from a neighbouring town. When brethren visited the sick in villages belonging to its jurisdiction, and spoke with them concerning their salvation, they were cast into prison, and otherwise ill-treated. The thing was even carried so far, that those brethren who were found in these villages, though simply on business, were unjustly punished. The Count, if he had been so inclined, could have resisted this evil in the usual manner: but because he believed that this persecution came upon the brethren for the sake of Christ, he, as well as the church in Herrnhut, commended not only the imprisoned brethren, but also the senate of the town, to God in prayer.

Many of the inhabitants of the villages had also many things to suffer from the magistracy, because of their devotional exercises: for when they came together for the purposes of mutual edification, they were frequently severely punished.

About this time, a commission from the government appeared in the town alluded to, and the question was agitated whether the brethren in Herrnhut, as well as those under the jurisdiction of the senate, ought not to lay their complaints before the Commission. The Count, however, advised the brethren to thank God for having esteemed them worthy to suffer for Jesus's sake; and they recommended their neighbours, the awakened subjects of the senate, not to complain against the latter. This proposition was so well received by them, that they unanimously resolved, for conscience' sake, to suffer patiently the injustice which had been done them; the result was, that for a considerable time after that, they had peace, and continued undisturbed in their devotional exercises.

About this time, a certain baron came to Herrnhut, who, in consequence of his captivating representations, found credit and a good reception with many of the brethren. This

induced the Count to permit him to stay in Herrnhut. But he soon showed that he did not belong to the church of Christ; for certain improprieties not only manifested themselves in his conduct from former times, but he also began to lead simple souls astray and gain followers. He was therefore requested by the elders of the church to retire from Herrnhut, which he did without raising any objections.

Meanwhile, his persuasions had the melancholy effect of separating several from the fellowship of the brethren, who also sought to seduce others from the right way; in which they also partially succeeded.

This was a fresh cause of suffering to the Count: for although these people could not justly say that a constraint was put upon their consciences, yet they began, under this pretence, to condemn the church at Herrnhut, speak meanly of it, both in public and in private, revile its elders and superintendents, and be guilty of such things as are incompatible with the mind and Spirit of Christ.

Every thing was done, on the part of the church, to bring them into a better path; and the Count in particular was unwearied in his forbearance, prayers, and entreaties. But when they grew worse, and their seductions increased, he found it indispensably necessary to declare himself publicly with respect to them. This he did in a very solemn manner, and testified before the assembled congregation, that such wicked and seducing individuals were under the anathema and curse of God. He then fell on his knees with the people, and pleaded before the Lord the wretched state of these transgressors, in which he evidenced grief and compassion, and at the same time great zeal for the Lord and his cause.

This excommunication was nothing else than what is implied in the words, which are pronounced in many Lutheran churches every Sunday, when it is said, "The Holy Spirit announces to secure, impenitent, and presumptuous despisers, that their sins are bound and retained, as long as they do not repent; and, in virtue of my office, I hereby publicly notify this to them, as a testimony against them." But the people, with whom the Count had to do, took occasion from it to spread the report that he dealt in curses and excommunications.

This act, however, which was no empty formality, produced a salutary effect in the church, which excited thankfulness towards God.

Besides this painful affair, the Count had to endure, about this period, all manner of contradiction and calumny, even in Herrnhut itself. It was also in this year that, because he could not refuse accepting the appointment of the superintendence of the sister-choirs, the spirit of scandal took occasion to excite an injurious report. Hence the elders of the church found it requisite to institute an inquiry, in order to obviate the shadow of a suspicion. On minute examination, it was found that the things reported of him were groundless, and he was again confirmed in his office.

The polemical writings against him continued to increase. It was just as it often happens in small towns, when any one cries "Fire!" many people run out of their houses into the streets, and also cry out "Fire!" often without knowing themselves whether there is really fire, or where it is.

Father Regent, a Popish missionary in Silesia, felt himself also induced to attack the Count, through the medium of the press, directing it, at the same time, against Herrnhut, and the clergymen Schwedler, Schäefer, and Rothe.

The accusations brought against these individuals being answered in a pamphlet published by Mr. Marche, the Count also permitted the remarks against Herrnhut to be explained. But those charges which had reference to his own person, he would not suffer to be touched upon, for he was firmly resolved to strive with no one respecting himself and his actions.

But as the things brought against the Count by Father Regent were of a political nature, he recommended Mr. Von Schmidt, his agent in Vienna, to make representations against it. The Count states, that "on this, the Emperor's confessor, Father Töenneman, expressed himself so justly and reasonably, that, as the effect perfectly agreed with his language, I shall always preserve a thankful remembrance of it."

Many godly and intelligent people, who, like himself, had foreseen that he would have to experience persecution, and much that was painful from the clergy, in consequence of his zeal for the Lord and his cause, comforted and encouraged

him. Amongst others, Jablonsky wrote from Berlin as follows:—"I have seen, with great grief, from printed documents, that the harmless institutions at Herrnhut, which the christian world ought to regard as a light shining in the midst of a crooked and perverse generation, are vilified and despised. But this must necessarily be the case; 'If ye were of the world, the world would love its own; but now ye are not of the world, therefore the world hateth you.' We must let it rage, and resign it to the judgment of Him who judgeth righteously, and who will in due time give every one commendation. Your Grace must, therefore, not lose courage, but stand against it like a palm-tree, under an oppressive weight, 'through honour and dishonour, through evil report and good report, as deceivers and yet true.' It cannot fare better with Christ's servants than it did with himself."

On the 18th of September, he and his consort were rejoiced by the birth of a son, who received, at his baptism, the name of Christian Frederick, but who departed this life again on the 30th October, "during heartfelt thanks to God," as his father mentions on that day.

The church in Herrnhut was now so well regulated, that cordial thanks could be rendered to God for it. It grew in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ almost visibly. Thus I found it in 1730, on visiting Herrnhut, in company with my friend Godfrey Clemens, subsequently a preacher there.

There were, in particular, many brethren and sisters, who had hitherto filled no office, but who had made such progress in the divine life, that their growth was very manifest. Others, on the contrary, who occupied stations in the church, seemed, if not to go back, at least to remain behind. This led the Count to think, that it might be necessary to ascertain whether some of the offices could not be better filled.

He made the commencement with himself, and sent in his resignation as superintendent of the church. The explanation he gave, was to the effect, that though he was willing to serve, and to venture every thing in seeking the good of the church

and averting evil, yet he would no longer be their superintendent, neither could he propose any one, at the time, to fill the office.

On this, the elders also resigned their offices, and the church made preparations for a new election. This took place on the 15th of March, when brother Martin Linner was chosen elder of the church, and Anna Nitschman, female-elder. Augustin Neisser was not long after joined with the former, in the capacity of vice-elder.

Martin Linner was a young man, a baker by trade, who possessed no particular gift for public speaking, but enjoyed a confidential intercourse with the Saviour, and proved himself, in all things, a servant of Jesus. Anna Nitschman had been brought from Moravia when a child, and when the great awakening took place amongst the children, was also one of those whose hearts the Lord touched; so that afterwards she was employed amongst the girls, and rendered useful to them. She made rapid progress in the divine life, maintained herself outwardly by spinning wool, and continued day and night in prayer.

The church did not burthen these elders with things of an external nature, but commissioned them to bear the church, collectively and individually, upon their hearts, each with reference to their sex, and to assist, with their prayers and benedictions, the other ministers of the church, whose office required activity. For some of the brethren, from love to the Saviour and the church, voluntarily bound themselves, with the consent of the latter, to its service, under the aforesaid elders, that the Lord's intentions, with respect to it, might be attained. These individuals were very strict amongst each other, conversed much together, in order to act in one mind in all things, and faithfully took charge of the entire concerns of the community, and hence were denominated assistants. They were also commissioned to represent the community in case of need before the magistracy, and in this character they were called the Syndics of the church. The Count was one of these assistants, and the Lord was with him.

Amongst the sisters were also some who united for the same purpose, with respect to those of their own sex.

When these male and female assistants had previously deliberated together on any subject, they stated it in a clear manner to the elders, who, when fully satisfied respecting it, decided upon its adoption.

Notwithstanding the favour which the Lord showed at this time towards the church in Herrnhut, the Count was not without anxiety respecting some families, which had removed thither, who were not Moravian emigrants. He reflected what the consequences would be if such an inhabitant of Herrnhut became unfaithful, and fell into sin and disgrace, or if he should have persons in his house, who were chargeable with any thing of the kind. As the magistrate, he had it indeed in his power to inflict due punishment upon such individuals, and thus to restrain them; but this was at all times something very improper in a christian church, under the gentle government of the Holy Spirit.

He therefore sought to prevent this evil in a manner more becoming the church, and drew up a reciprocal agreement, which every householder, whether already residing in Herrnhut, or wishing to do so in future, should have to sign.

In this agreement they declared that they and their families had removed to Herrnhut, or were desirous of doing so, from no other motive than the belief that they and their families would have an opportunity there of saving their souls, and serving the Saviour.

But the chief intention of this document was, that every resident in Herrnhut should pledge himself, either to refrain from those vices which are contrary to God and man, or leave Herrnhut, and dispose of his house to the community.

The Count reflected also how the marriages amongst the young people might be regulated in a manner becoming the gospel, in opposition to the customary mode of procedure in these cases, amongst worldly-minded people, which undoubtedly belongs to "the vain conversation, received by tradition from the fathers, and from which we are redeemed by the blood of Christ." (1 Peter i. 18, 19.) But, well aware that little can be effected by commands and prohibitions in this respect, he felt it as a particular cause of thankfulness to the Saviour, that this matter was arranged spontaneously in a scriptural manner.

Eighteen unmarried females, whose hearts and minds were bent upon yielding themselves up entirely to the Lord Jesus, covenanted with each other on the 4th May, of that year, entirely to abstain from every thing, in this respect, which was unbecoming a church of God. But if it were necessary that a brother should be supplied with a helpmate, and if, after laying the matter before the Lord, he made an offer to one or other of them, they would then take it into consideration, and decide according to their conviction.

The female elder was herself one of the number of these single sisters, who thus entered into a covenant before the Lord, and became, from that time, the superintendent of this little company. The regulation was made with the knowledge and full consent of the elders and vice-elders of the church, who hereupon bestowed their blessing upon them in the name of the Lord. Some, indeed, made objections; on what ground, I know not; but the Count was much rejoiced at it.

He remarks, respecting the young men, as follows: "In the meeting of the young people, the necessity of spiritual guides for novices in the divine life was spoken of. On this, the hundred and eleven youths, who stand in close connexion with the church, joined the twelve brethren, who are seriously concerned for the salvation of souls."

Those in the marriage state received additional instruction with reference to their connexion, to which the simple and open-hearted conferences of the brethren and sisters, with their faithful elders, contributed.

In a new regulation of the bands or companies of children, the attempt was made to employ some of them, in whom a particular work of grace was manifested, in awakening other children. This attempt was not entirely unsuccessful, and it was continued for many years, not without a blessing.

Notwithstanding the opposition and calumnies raised against the church at Herrnhut, there were many who wished to reside there, and expected to derive real benefit from it for their souls. When persons applied who, for conscience' sake, had left their native land and what they possessed, the Count made no difficulty. (There were already fifty-six persons residing in Herrnhut, who had suffered bonds and imprisonment for the

Saviour's sake.) But with regard to other individuals, he consulted the church, and it was decided that they should be admitted with difficulty.

With respect to provision for the poor, a poor's-box was projected, with appropriate inscriptions.

In a numerously-attended conference of the church, it was decided, that as soon as a brother or a sister departed this life, they should be interred on the Hutberg, and fenced round. On the 5th of May, the first brother was buried there, which was the commencement of the burial-ground. The Count thought it of importance, that those who had enjoyed the fellowship of saints with each other here on earth, should not be separated as it respects the body, after having quitted their earthly tabernacle. If he wished to afford any one a pleasure, he took him to the Hutberg, and spoke with him concerning those who were interred there.

In November, Martin Dober, one of his fellow-labourers, fell dangerously ill. This affected the Count very deeply, for he hoped that he might still become an useful labourer in the Lord's vineyard. Therefore, when every one despaired of his recovery, the Count entreated the Lord to spare him, considering how useful he had been, and how much more so he might still become, adding, that he wished he might himself be taken away from the earth, and Martin Dober retained.

It was manifest, that God graciously heard this prayer; for when all thought there was no longer any hope, the patient grew better all at once, contrary to the nature of the disease from which he suffered. He lived eighteen years after that time, and for ten years together ministered to the church in Herrnhut, according to the gift bestowed upon him, to testify of the crucified Saviour.

The Count observes, with reference to his own labours in the church, that if he undertook any thing from which he expected particular benefit, either for himself or the church, many things intervened which were painful to him. He says, he often knew not where to begin, or where to end; and, if the Lord had not spoken peace to him, he would not have known what to do.

Another circumstance was, that whenever he had to speak

in the church, or undertake any thing, he felt himself extremely poor and wretched. But this had the effect of driving him to the Saviour, nor did the Lord Jesus suffer him to be put to shame; of which there are many instances in his journal.

During my visit to Herrnhut with Godfrey Clemens, we went, amongst others, to visit a person who was extremely sick and ill. On asking what was the matter with her, we were told, both by herself and others, that "she had been touched by the hand of God." The following particulars were related to us respecting this affair:—

This person had come to Herrnhut, and had pretended that she was concerned for her soul's salvation, and that she was desirous of being converted to God. She had also complained much of her depravity, but no change whatever had taken place in her. This excited a suspicion, that she was not sincere in her assertions: for he who seeks Jesus Christ, finds him; and he that entreats his favour shall not be confounded. She was spoken with on the subject, but would never confess it. On one occasion, when the Count was speaking in the church upon hypocrisy, and its odious nature in the sight of God, and had quoted the instance of Ananias and Sapphira, this person fell down on the spot, and was obliged to be carried out. After coming to herself again, she confessed her falsehood and deceit. From that time she lay long ill, as a terror to others, and at length, after regaining her health, removed from Herrnhut, and fell into poverty and wretchedness.

When the persecution against the Rev. Mr. Steinmetz, of Teschen, in Upper Silesia, was carried to such a length, that he was dismissed from his office, which he had filled with abundant success, the Count, who always deeply sympathized with the sufferings of the servants of Jesus, wrote to the Margrave of Bayreuth, and informed him of Steinmetz's situation, adding, that if he desired "a prophet's reward," there was now an opportunity for it.

The Margrave immediately referred the Count's letter to his consistory, the members of which were unanimous in recommending the Margrave to appoint Steinmetz to be superintendent of Neustadt-an-der-Aisch. He was consequently

appointed, and, by imperial favour, placed in a condition to accept it, which he accordingly did. Some years after, he was made abbot of Closter-Bergen, and general superintendent in the duchy of Magdeburg.

When, in a neighbouring town, the rage against private meetings again awoke, and was carried so far, that two or three persons were no longer permitted to converse with each other in the street on the salvation of their souls, the Count, who had formerly recommended them to be silent, at their request, now took their part, and drew up a memorial to the royal commission for them.

An awakened individual in Bertholdsdorf, who had been pressed into military service, could not resolve upon taking an oath, for conscience' sake. To free him from it, the Count gave a certificate of his loyalty, at the same time pledging the whole of his own property. The result was, that the colonel of the regiment generously sent back, not only that individual, but also another from Bertholdsdorf, who had been enlisted.

There lived at that time in Berlenburg and Schwarzenau, a variety of people who had been persecuted in other places. They differed very much amongst themselves, both with respect to their religious views, and their outward deportment. Every one thought himself in the right, and judged others who differed from him. The majority contended about things of minor importance, and meanwhile forgot the chief concern.

The Count, who refused to acknowledge any one to be a child of God but those who sought in Christ alone their wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption; and being at the same time, desirous of testifying of the grace of God to many, that he might assist them in seeking and finding salvation,—resolved this year to undertake a journey to Berlenburg and Schwarzenau.

To this he was also induced by an outward motive. Von Kalkreuth, chief ranger of the Berlenburg forests, had visited Herrnhut the year before, and had received a good impression of the church there. On returning to Berlenburg, he related what he had seen, heard, and felt at Herrnhut, with an ardent desire that the same regulations might be adopted in the former place. This induced the reigning Count of Wittgenstein

Berlenburg to send the Count an invitation to visit him. The latter delayed it for a year and a half, but at length resolved upon it, in God's name, and in the expectation that the Lord would grant his blessing upon it.

The Count commenced his journey, in company with Martin Linner, presiding elder of the church at Herrnhut, in the month of August. They arrived on the 22d at Ebersdorf, where they remained till the 26th. Several circumstances rendered him uncommonly welcome. His sister-in-law, the Countess Benigna, assured him, that she thanked God for having brought him thither just at that time. She had prayed that very day, that the Lord would direct the Count's way to Ebersdorf, and already saw the answer to her prayer.

He assisted at that place, at a numerously attended conference of preachers, and on being pressingly requested to do so, held several meetings; at the last of which, he spoke with much unction, on ardent love to Jesus. At table he also seized the opportunity of making a good confession, and explained the principles of the Moravian church, and its peculiar object. He also made an excursion to Lobenstein, to visit Count Henry XVth, who was ill, and conversed likewise with various individuals, who came to visit him.

From Ebersdorf he went to Saalfeld, and had a confidential interview with the duke. He afterwards visited Madam Von Schwarzenfels at Altenburg, where he remained some days; in consequence of many visitors from Jena and other places. I was myself there; but as I could not stay long, he devoted a whole night to me, when we found enough to relate to each other, of what the Saviour had done, and was doing for us.

On the 30th of August he entered Weimar, which was by Divine direction, since he had intended not to have gone thither. His first visit was to a certain learned theologian, who was so astonished at the unexpected meeting, that he could not for a long time recollect himself. At length on regaining presence of mind, he spoke frankly to the Count, and gave him his opinion respecting the real causes of the violent opposition that was raised against him, in the following words:—"It is only because you pay no respect to your rank. For the charges of not believing in Christ, rejecting justification and the like, are

scarcely believed by those who bring them against you." This gave the Count an opportunity of clearly and impressively pointing out to him the character of the true followers of Jesus, and the nature of his discipleship. On this he prayed with him, during which the hearts of both were much affected. Martin Linner also spoke to him in so profound a manner, that he knew not what to think of it. He had previously said, "People ought to act towards the Count, like the Gergesenes towards the Saviour, when they besought him to depart out of their coasts; for he brings nothing but affliction upon them." But now he assured him of his sincere affection.

The Count arrived at Berlenburg in the beginning of September, and on the 15th at Schwarzenau. He confessed to me, with reference to his proceedings in these places, that in all his discourses, he had relied, with great poverty of spirit, on the Saviour's assistance—that he had not directed his attention to minor points, but adhered to the chief thing—the grace of God in Christ Jesus, and that he had contended against reason and religious fancies with nothing but the word of God.

He modestly accepted the opportunities which were daily afforded him of bearing testimony to the truth as it is in Jesus, but would not suffer others, who were wont to preach, to be hindered from it by his presence.

He made it a rule, in conversing with individuals, to reject no one, whatever strange things they might bring forward, but to listen to the whole of what they had to say. His answers and admonitions were given in the spirit of love, and accompanied with Divine unction.

A remarkable personage at that time in Berlenburg, was counsellor John Conrad Dippel, whose writings, under the name of Christianus Democritus, are well known in Germany.* With this individual the Count had been for some time in correspondence.

During the Count's visit, he attended, contrary to his usual custom, all the meetings. These, and especially the frequent interviews he had with him, were, for the time, of undeniable use

* The reader is referred to the "Account of eminent German Sectarians" in the "Instructive Narrations," by Jung-Stilling, for particulars respecting Dippel, Rock, and others. Hamilton, Adams, & Co.

and benefit to his soul. The Count mentions how Dippel, on one occasion, related the history of his life to him. On coming to his "evangelical demonstration," says he, I took occasion, because he assured me of his ardent affection for me with tears, to tell him my thoughts very simply; and, as far as my experience extended, according to what is written, "He to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little." (Luke viii. 47.) On this, he confessed himself vanquished, acknowledged the atonement of Christ for the sins of the whole world, and promised in his next publication, fully to explain and elucidate the point. Some days after, he publicly professed his belief in the doctrine of Christ's complete atonement for the sins of the whole world, in the presence of all the brethren in Berlenburg.

Another letter of the Count's, dated some years after, furnishes further particulars concerning this extraordinary individual. "I was much affected," says he, "when, on relating my christian experience to Dippel in 1730, he not only wept bitterly, and poured out his whole heart to me, but also cast himself with me before the Lamb of God, and entreated his grace; which he would have obtained, had not the adversary, at that very time, given into his hands a hostile work, which aimed at his ruin. Personal esteem for me was therefore all that was left him; which he also lost, when brother Martin Dober, on his continuing to promulgate his heathenish theology, publicly ordered him out of the meeting at Berlenburg; and when, on Dippel's complaining to me of it, I approved of the act, and took the responsibility upon myself."

The Count, in his labours at Berlenburg, was, first of all, solicitous to point out to every one, both publicly and privately, what is requisite, in order to become a child of God, and an heir of eternal life, and continue to be so. He afterwards indicated the minor points, at which people often linger, to the neglect of that which is neccessary to salvation. He also spoke of those things which are wont to obstruct brotherly love in awakened souls, and how they may and ought to be avoided.

In the powerful movement which pervaded the assembly during his sermons, or during prayer, when the hearts of the hearers frequently melted like wax, nearly twenty Jews,

Jewesses, and their children, appeared, and besought permission to attend the meetings. "On seeing them," writes the Count, "I resolved, though in great weakness, to preach a sermon expressly for them. I took the words, 'Melchisedec king of Salem—was the priest of the most High God, and blessed Abram.' (Gen. xiv. 18, 19. Compare cxth Psalm.) I spoke on these words with inward feeling and great liberty, respecting our only Mediator and High Priest. I took all my proofs from the Old Testament, but always insisted on the testimony of the heart, and of the necessity of fighting and conquering with Jacob's weapons. (Hos. xii. 5.) Some of the Jews were moved to tears."

The result of his efforts in Berlenburg was, that the things which had hitherto prevented the union of the awakened individuals in that place, were discovered and acknowledged; and, on the 12th of September, the statutes of this union were read and universally accepted. On the 14th, the Count terminated his visit to Berlenburg in an assembly of all the brethren, in the presence of the reigning Count and the awakened clergymen.

The addresses he delivered in Schwarzenau, at the meetings of the awakened, and his kind, yet serious mode of treating those with whom he conversed on religious subjects, were well received. After a conference, which lasted eighteen hours, and in which he spoke fully and impressively upon simply following Jesus—they all declared their inclination to give up the irregularities and divisions which had hitherto prevailed amongst them, to appoint Inspector Kepler their superintendent, again partake of the sacrament, which had been in disuse for sixteen years, and let the word of God serve as their only standard.

But the Count saw no abiding fruit from these labours of his. As readily as the word was received—as promptly was it again abandoned.

Before the Count left Schwarzenau, he was invited by the elders of the church of the "Inspired," in the principality of Isenburg, to visit them. After mature deliberation, he resolved to go thither on his return, in order to become thoroughly acquainted with their views. They received him gladly, and

immediately requested him to give them a word of exhortation, which he accordingly did. His discourses were well received, and they placed so much confidence in him, that they afforded him an opportunity of forming a correct idea of them. He found amongst them men, who were not only edifying in their conversation, but also expressed themselves quite scripturally upon the principal points of Christian doctrine. There were, however, some things with respect to their churches, of which he justly disapproved, although, at the same time, he perceived that their mode of treating those who were concerned for their salvation was serious and sincere.

What he thought improper amongst them, he plainly stated to them, after having gained their confidence.

John Frederick Rock, a saddler, was a chief person amongst these churches, because of his fits of inspiration. His father was a preacher, and his grandfather a prelate in Würtemberg. He was at that time a man of grave deportment, without affectation, sincere, and unable to flatter; he treated every one with modesty, did not speak presumptuously, showed no sectarian severity, submitted to be corrected in conversation, seldom contradicted what was said, and reflected on hearing any thing he did not approve.—"I derived much benefit from his society," says the Count, "which I shall remember as long as I live. Hence I entreated him, at the commencement, to treat me without ceremony, and as he was wont to converse with his brethren. I had besought him to stand sponsor to my daughter, that he might be the more firmly assured that I was in earnest about the baptism of children. I valued his prayers, and my child had afterwards much love and respect for him; whilst, upon himself, the visible sign of baptismal grace made a great impression.

"Rock fell into one of his inspired fits in Büdingen, which I thought dreadful.* But the more strange and repugnant they were to me, the more I restrained my judgment. It

* The manner was this: he suddenly became violently convulsed, and at the same time moved his head backwards and forwards with incredible rapidity. In this state, he spoke certain words in a prophetic style, which were termed inspirations. They were written down, and sent to the people to whom they referred.

was necessary that the thing itself, and how the spirit should afterwards declare itself with respect to the word of God, and what it enjoined, should decide the point. When Rock came to Herrnhut, in 1732, his inspirations had the same effect on me as before. I could not at that time pronounce them devoid of all reality; but I clearly saw, that Rock's ideas and preconceived opinions acted their part in them. But as this may also be the case in the preaching of the gospel, I could not entirely reject them on that account, although I should have regarded it as a temptation, if any thing of the kind had occurred in our church. But, this time, the affair began to appear suspicious to me, and I had reason to believe that Rock was in error. At length, when some of the elders of their church insisted upon baptism and the Lord's supper, and when they were expelled because the spirit had declared itself in the coarsest and most indefensible manner against the sacraments, I had no occasion to hesitate any longer, in entirely rejecting the inspiration."

The Count's visit to Berlenburg, Schwarzenau, and the congregations of the inspired, drew down upon him many severe animadversions. This it was easy for him to foresee, but he regarded it as improper, on that account, to suffer himself to be restrained from a good work; since he was convinced that the restoring well-intentioned individuals to the right way, was acceptable in the sight of God.

On the Count's return to Herrnhut, during which he travelled the greatest part of the way on foot, although he had a carriage and horses with him, he passed again through Ebersdorf. He visited, on the way, many persons, for whose salvation he was concerned, and the Lord was with him. Hence he was obliged almost every where to tear himself away; for he was much urged to remain longer. His conversation was so blessed to an awakened preacher who had again gone astray, that he took fresh courage, promised faithfully to carry on the Lord's work, whatever disgrace it might cause him, and in his next sermon, expressed this intention, in the presence of his whole congregation. After a short and pleasing stay at Ebersdorf, he arrived, on the 15th of October, again in Herrnhut.

On the 23d of that month, a daughter was born to him, who was baptized by the name of Theodora Caritas.

His children lay much on his heart; although the labour and pains, with respect to their education, fell chiefly upon the Countess and the persons employed for that purpose. He had the pleasure of seeing how the grace of Jesus Christ operated upon their hearts.

In order to meet the frequently contradictory objections to the church at Herrnhut, and to put an end to the numberless inquiries and answers on the subject — the Count wrote "A private Declaration respecting the church of Herrnhut to a Divine who loved it."

He states, first of all, that this declaration is not to be regarded as a new creed, differing from the Augsburg confession, but merely drawn up for the purpose of refuting things with which the church was charged; which they, notwithstanding, abominated, since they thought it their duty to remove and prevent, for the future, the evil consequences that might result from them. It had reference entirely to the state of the church at the time. In other respects, this declaration is a testimony to the truth of the gospel, which reigned at that time amongst the brethren.

We must not here omit to notice the Count's "Thoughts on the Distinctions of Separation, Sectarianism, and an apostolic church of Christ, in the present day."

The cause of this treatise was, the two kinds of people who were at that time called Separatists and Sectarians. The former were generally found in places where an awakening had taken place or still existed, and who thought the more highly of themselves because they did not attend church and sacrament in the company of such as were spiritually dead; although they themselves, were often no better than the latter, and on this account preferred abstaining from the means of grace. The latter insisted in such a manner upon their doctrines and outward forms, that they rejected all who did not belong to them. A spiritually dead and totally unconverted man, who lived according to their forms, was preferable, in their opinion, to a child of God who paid no regard to them.

The Count, after fully explaining himself with regard to

separatism and sectarianism, enlarges upon the nature of an apostolic church: "A chief characteristic of such a church," he observes, "is the equally pervading connexion of the doctrine of faith and godliness; besides which, its true members know how to bear with and be kind towards others, whilst amongst themselves they are uncommonly strict and severe. . . . . They do not willingly make new regulations and limitations; but, at the same time, they do not venture to use liberty in those things which the Lord and his Apostles have limited. . . . . They acknowledge themselves unworthy of divine grace, liberty, and blessing; always carry their treasure about with them as if it were only lent to them, and might be easily lost. They shun persecution at a distance, and gladly prevent it; but near, they meet it boldly, and stand immovable. They esteem inward siftings as grievous sufferings; but know beforehand, that they cannot be avoided in a church."

In the year 1731, several individuals, who either resided at Herrnhut, or were on a visit there, secretly disseminated the works of Madam Guion, which were approved of by some. This induced the Count to read these writings, and particularly her spiritual discourses. But, believing that some of the mystics not only teach erroneous doctrines, but also use improper modes of speech respecting commonly received truths, he sought to extract that which was really good from them. Hence he began, in February, to speak upon a variety of subjects, in short meetings which he held, connected with Madam Guion's discourses. But I am of opinion he did not so much intend to introduce her writings into the church, as to bring off its members from them; and in this he succeeded.

Being solicitous that every thing should become increasingly simple and childlike, he proposed, to the deliberation of the church, whether an opportunity could not be found for a daily public conference, in which each one should be at liberty, either vocally, or in writing, or through the medium of another, to bring forward any subject on which he wished for explanation, and in which every one was free to express his thoughts, objections, doubts, &c.

He commenced a conference of this kind in his own house, and asked every one of its assembled inmates how he felt in his heart,—whether he had any thing against any of the brethren? &c. Many things were thus revealed and brought into their proper course, which otherwise might have done injury if they had not been brought to light.

The church also found it advisable to follow his proposition. The meetings were perfectly social and confidential; and it was, in reality, something pleasing and edifying to hear the scriptural and experimental expressions of the brethren, on the questions that came before them on subjects connected with vital religion.

The Count, at the beginning of this year, was in considerable suspense respecting the constitution of the church at Herrnhut. This was caused by the dissatisfaction of many, otherwise not ill-disposed persons, respecting its regulations. He therefore proposed to the elders and assistants, whether it would not be better, from a principle of charity and concession, and in order to make the church more universal, to give up the statutes and the ecclesiastical discipline, and confine themselves, simply, to the Lutheran constitution? He prevailed so far on the elders and assistants, that they resolved to bring the matter forward in a meeting of the church. This was accordingly done; but the proposition was warmly opposed. The brethren could not resolve thus to throw away a constitution, under which their forefathers had prospered so much three centuries before, and which had been renewed with so much blessing to themselves. They foresaw, that what had befallen many other awakened churches, which, from want of order in discipline, had suffered loss, and fallen away from their first zeal, and had become infected with a Laodicean spirit, might very easily happen to them. They also felt obliged to think of their descendants, and not deprive them of the gracious gift of the constitution of the brethren, which would be extremely desirable to many Protestants, if they could also enjoy it. They were apprehensive of being scattered, and growing cool in apostolic fervour, and of incurring a responsibility in the sight of God, if they were to abrogate that which they had accepted as conformable to the word of God,

not to mention other reasons. But, as the Count, on the other side, urged every motive to induce the brethren to give up their own constitution, and abide simply by that of the Lutheran church, it was resolved, on both sides, to commit the affair to the Saviour, and resign themselves, in simplicity, to his will.

Accordingly, two lots were made; on one of which was written, "To them that are without law, as without law, (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ,) that ye may gain them that are without law." (1 Cor. ix. 21.) And on the other, "Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught." (2 Thess. ii. 15.) After every one had been made fully acquainted with the meaning of these lots,—that, if the first were drawn, it should be a proof that they were to accept the constitution of the Lutheran church; but, if the second, to retain that of the brethren—fervent prayer was made, after which Christian Renatus, the Count's little son, then not quite four years old, drew the lot, and which proved to be the one last mentioned: —"Stand fast, therefore, brethren, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught." The Count was now requested to address the church on the occasion, which he did with unusual effect.

This event afforded a new assurance to the heart of the Count, with whom the Saviour's will was of greater importance than all his previous reasons, that God had some particular purpose to answer with respect to the Moravian church. He therefore devoted himself to its service anew; and, in his labours, directed his efforts more to the growth of its members in the grace and knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, than to its extension.

On the 12th of February, it was resolved, "From heartfelt love to the Saviour, and in the sincere hope of an abundant blessing, to partake of the sacrament every month, to edify one another in a greater degree, and to cleave the more closely to Jesus."

For this purpose, he spoke with all the brethren before the sacrament; and in his attention to the whole flock, did not overlook himself, but instituted a strict inquiry, whether he had advanced in the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in

tender intercourse with him, or not. In order to this, he took a retrospect of his former and present state, and was able to thank the Saviour, with tears, that he had brought him further on the path of life.

About this time, various gifts and spiritual powers manifested themselves in the church at Herrnhut, and, in particular, many miraculous cures. Its members believed, in filial simplicity, the words which the Saviour spoke respecting the hearing of prayer; and when any particular affair pressed itself upon them, they spoke with him concerning it, and expected every good thing from him; and it was done unto them according to their faith. The Count heartily rejoiced at this, and secretly praised the Saviour, who looks with such condescension on the poor and the needy. He acknowledged this confidence in our Lord Jesus Christ, as a fruit of the Holy Spirit, which ought reasonably to be esteemed, and not prove a stumbling-block to any. However, he did not wish that the brethren and sisters should regard such things as extraordinary, and thus attach themselves to them; but whenever they occurred, as, for instance, when any one experienced an instantaneous cure, either by a word spoken in faith, or by prayer, were it even from the most dangerous injuries or the most painful illnesses—he regarded it as a thing that was known, and spoke *little* about *it*. He also frequently asserted, both in public and in private, that wonders were not granted for the sake of believers, but of unbelievers—that wonder-working faith was a gift, which did not make its possessor a better child of God, but that he might even be inferior to others who did not possess such gifts, nor strove for the possession of them—that to love Christ, be resigned to him in all things, and submit every thing to his will, was a much safer way, &c. Hence when he saw that any one was urgently desirous of being miraculously healed, it excited his suspicions, and he refused to interfere.

His treatment of the sick, with whom he was fraternally united, deserves to be noticed. The first thing he did was to inquire into the probable cause of the sickness. He did not rest satisfied with ascertaining its natural and immediate causes; but sought to know what the Lord's intention was in

sending the sickness. Without Him, thought he, no sickness visits us. He has an eye upon his children, and has said, that his heavenly Father numbers all the hairs of their heads, and that none of them falls to the ground without his knowledge. In this manner he deeply reflected with regard to himself, when sickness overtook him. But if it befell any one else, he either spoke first with the patient himself, or sent to inquire if he knew what the Lord's intentions were in such a visitation. He believed that when these were ascertained, and it was seen that it was a chastisement from the Lord—help was frequently at hand; and that as soon as the sick man knew why the Saviour had sent him the illness, and heartily acknowledged it, there were good hopes of his recovery; unless a person had sinned in such a manner, that the Lord preferred removing him, rather than leave him longer here a prey to sorrow. But if none but mere natural causes appeared, he was of opinion that as much, if not more, depended upon the care and nursing of the individual, as upon the use of medicine. Hence he was chiefly solicitous that the sick might receive due attention; and ordered it so, that brother should wait upon brother, and sister upon sister, in their sicknesses.

He gave himself much trouble also with regard to the children; and in order that the brethren and sisters, who ministered to the church with him, might have the same fundamental ideas on the subject with himself, four days, towards the close of December, were set apart for conferences upon the bringing up of children. In their little meetings, he himself gave them occasion to speak, sing, and pray, and inquired of each how he stood with the Saviour. Besides which, he sometimes afforded the children opportunity, according to their sections, of speaking with him, and amongst each other, on the state of their hearts; when it soon appeared how they loved the Saviour.

A particular event deserves to be noticed here, which occurred on the 27th of October, with a brother of the name of Hans Münster, who, in the confusion of his mind, was about to leave Herrnhut, but whom the Count happily restored to the right path. This man was one of the brethren who had come from Moravia to Herrnhut, where the Lord had showed

him much favour, and he was esteemed and loved by the brethren. But in consequence of cherishing hostility towards a brother, he lost his confidence in the Saviour, his love for the members of the church, and became gloomy and melancholy. In this state, he spent a considerable time, without attending the meetings, or unbosoming himself to any one; until, at length, he resolved within himself, secretly to retire from Herrnhut, and return to Moravia. When the evening arrived in which he was to carry his resolution into effect, the Count was all at once inwardly reminded of this man in a particular manner. He immediately rose up, and went to him. On entering the door—it was about ten o'clock in the evening—Münster was just going out. The Count kindly inquired how matters went with him? The reply was, "Not well." "I am sorry to hear that," answered the Count; and then spoke in such a heartfelt manner to him, that he was deeply affected, and shed many tears; and thus the Count left him. The day following, Münster came, disclosed his whole state to him, and informed him, that the evening before, he was just on the point of setting out, at the very moment when the Count came to him. The latter then told him how he had borne him upon his heart for three-quarters of a year together, but did not feel at liberty to speak with him, until incited to it in a particular manner the day before. Münster was, at length, scarcely able to utter a word for tears, and the Count invited him to partake of the sacrament, which was intended to be administered to the church three days afterwards at Bertholdsdorf.

When that day arrived, the Count went himself with Münster to Bertholdsdorf, and spoke cordially with him on the way. On entering the church, he recommended him to repeat the prayer, which is usually done by a brother, in the name of the church, before the absolution. He did so, with many tears, and from that time he pursued a happy course until his end.

It has been already mentioned, that the Count was commissioned to undertake the superintendence of the choir of sisters, and that he had been confirmed in this office; when, after minute investigation, the accusations which had been brought against him were found to be false.

These accusations emanated from two individuals, who had perhaps deceived themselves and others, not so much from malice and guile, as from misapprehension. On seeing how improperly they had acted in speaking of things from mere suspicion, which were now proved to be calumnies, they experienced great anxiety of conscience.

This induced one of them to write to the church in Herrnhut, and accuse himself as being the most wicked of men. He confessed that he felt the curse which he had brought upon himself by thus calumniating the Count, and that he had certainly still more sorrow to expect, if God did not have mercy upon him.

The other came from Sorau, whither he had removed, to Herrnhut, and confessed his sin; but could neither believe that the Count forgave him, nor was able to forgive himself. And although the Count treated him in the kindest manner, and endeavoured to comfort him by the strongest assurances of his forgiveness and his love, yet it did not avail, and it was long before either of them were pacified: for they could not re-expel the poison they had infused into others; but saw, to their grief, how it continued to operate. This was also a heavy affliction to the Count, who sincerely loved them.

We now come to the Count's journey to Copenhagen, which was occasioned by a cordial acquaintance with that court of many years' standing. The Count confesses that his intention was to accept of an engagement in Denmark, on condition, however, that he should, at the same time, be at liberty to preach the gospel of Christ, and, especially, retain charge of his dear Herrnhut.

He, therefore, by no means intended to accept of such an office as would entangle him in state-affairs. He had, indeed, formerly thought, that it would be very desirable for him to fill such a station, under a pious king, as would enable him, in a certain sense, to do much good to the whole kingdom, and promote the salvation of many thousand souls. But he says, on the 28th January, "I have been speaking with widows, and the poor, and the low, who trust in the Lord; and I was, at the same time, so penetrated with the lowliness of Christ,

that I have humbly offered up to the Lord the desire of accomplishing any thing in the manner above mentioned, have broken off the correspondence, and resolved to know nothing except the being lowly, poor, and despised."

But before he resolved on the journey to Copenhagen, he reflected much upon it; and, because he ministered to the church in various ways, he would not do any thing in the matter without its consent. He, accordingly, spoke first with his fellow-labourers, who were unanimous for his undertaking it; for they believed that he would find opportunity of boldly and beneficially confessing Jesus Christ in Denmark. When he afterwards brought the matter before the church, and every circumstance had been maturely weighed, a very great majority were in favour of it. But even this would not have satisfied him, if he had not felt assured that the journey was according to the Saviour's will, and that he would be with him. Still he found it a painful struggle, and it cost him many tears and prayers; for he knew the danger to which he should be exposed.

He commenced his journey on the 25th of April, respecting which he writes: "Being obliged to stay a while before the gates of Halle, I went, in the mean time, to the university, walked about in the court, and ardently thanked my Saviour for all the mercy he had shown me there." He there received many visits, particularly from the Inspectors Freyer, Baumgarten, and others, with whom he conversed till a late hour. In another place, the opportunity was afforded him of bringing a certain gentleman, who was ignorantly prejudiced against him, to other sentiments. The latter was quite astonished at himself, and his erroneous ideas and expressions respecting the Count. He thanked God, who had afforded him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Count, and for having preserved him that day from sinning against him. At the same time, he heartily besought his forgiveness, and promised, wherever he had expressed himself according to his former views, to testify to the contrary. He finally wished him many blessings on his journey, assured him of his prayers, and his consort did the same.

In Rendsburg he became acquainted with Conradi, the

superintendent-general of Schleswig and Holstein: besides which, he was waited upon by many pious persons, amongst whom were several preachers. He availed himself of the opportunity, and not only freely spoke with them of salvation by Christ, but also gave an address, at which the superintendent-general performed on the harpsichord, and declared, "that if Counts could preach such sermons, and hold such singing-meetings, superintendents-general might well play to them."

When the Count reached Copenhagen, he found that his arrival was expected, and that a lodging was appointed him not far from the royal palace. Baron Söehlenthal, governor to the Crown-Prince, and an old friend of the Count's, visited him, and spent several hours with him.

At that time, the dawn of a brighter day seemed bursting upon Denmark, although it still appeared doubtful whether light or darkness would gain the ascendancy. Not only amongst the clergy, but also amongst the king's ministers, and even in the royal family itself, were many awakened individuals: but there were also many persons of rank and importance, who were opposed to any change, and wished things to remain as they were. The king himself, being a good and pious monarch, and preferring pious people about him,—the latter presented a very different appearance to the church at Corinth, in which "not many wise men after the flesh, not many noble, were called." But it must not be supposed that all these noble and respectable people were decided in their religious profession; for there were many amongst them who were only half-hearted in the cause. Therefore, when the Count set before such persons the whole mind of Christ, they could not resist the Spirit and power that was in him; yet the food was too strong for them; and it was afterwards apparent, that those were more welcome to them, who were satisfied with outward exercises and pious conversation.

The Count then visited the Lord Chamberlain Von Pless, who said to him, "The king desires to speak with you. Converse with him with all the sincerity of a witness for God, which character you bear amongst us."

He was accordingly presented to the king a few days after

his arrival, and graciously received. In a short time, he was invited to the royal table, at which, beside their Majesties, only a few ladies of the first rank, and four members of the king's privy council, were present. It was remarked that the queen, as well as the Margravine her mother, together with the Crown Prince, and the Princesses Sophia Hedwig and Charlotte Amelia, were particularly gracious towards him. The consequence was, that many were anxious to show him honour and affection; nay, they loaded him with it in such a manner, that he was wearied with it, and wished himself rid of it.

In his letters to the Countess, he says, "People vie with each other in showing me kindness, so that I clearly see, God intends to prove to me here, that I have lost nothing by following in the footsteps of his Son. But I long only the more to return to my blessed sphere of affliction, where I gently reposed under so much that was oppressive." . . . .

It fared with the Count, in Copenhagen, as is generally the case with those who are distinguished by any thing particular. The ideas formed of him before he was personally known, proved to be incorrect. He was found to possess a greater measure of gifts, understanding, ability, and courage than was supposed: in particular, a degree of integrity and frankness was observed in him, not very usual at courts.

Not long after his arrival in Copenhagen, the Lord Chamberlain asked him, in the king's name, whether he would accept a place amongst the king's ministers, should it be offered him? But the Count totally declined it, stating as a reason, that he was pledged to the church at Herrnhut, and would accept of no office, in which he should be obliged to detach himself from its service, which he esteemed of such importance. Meanwhile, his illustrious and noble friends devised with him a plan, which, if fully acted upon, would have proved the means of realizing his intentions, both for the present and the future: but it was never carried into effect. His proposals found no hearing, because they were so humble and disinterested, that it was either thought improper to give him such an appointment, or else they did not believe he was really in earnest to serve Denmark in such a manner; and thus it happened that he accepted no engagement.

In the beginning of June, the Count travelled to Fredericksburg, at the king's command, to be present at the coronation; on which occasion, he was told that the king intended to bestow upon him the order of Dannebrog. The Count had many scruples against accepting it; and his struggles were so painful, that he spent the previous night under many tears, and without sleep.

He had almost resolved not to accept the order, when the Margravine of Culmbach, a short time before he went to the king, called him to her, and seriously admonished him not to cause a sensation by refusing it. On this the king sent for him, and invested him with the insignia of the order, in the presence of the master of the ceremonies, in a very gracious manner.

From this time, however, he resolved to become still more attached to the reproach of Christ, and to confess his word still more boldly. He soon after became more acquainted with the Danish colonies, and induced, by certain circumstances, to reflect deeply on the conversion of the heathen there. He had already entered into a covenant with the young Baron Von Wattewille, which had reference also to the conversion of the heathen, and had subsequently thought much upon the subject. Whilst he was in Copenhagen, he, and the brethren he had with him from Herrnhut, met with two Greenlanders, and heard many things respecting the Rev. Mr. Egede's endeavours to introduce the gospel amongst that people. When the Count heard of the many difficulties Egede had encountered, and how little fruit he had reaped from his astonishing efforts, he was much grieved, especially on hearing that people began to think that all the expense which had been, and still might be incurred for the conversion of the Greenlanders, was in vain; so that the question was agitated, whether Egede should not be recalled, and the mission given up. This induced the Count to resolve to do every thing in his power to assist the worthy man, for which he found opportunity on his return to Herrnhut.

He also became acquainted with an awakened negro, who related that he had a sister in the island of St. Thomas, who, he believed, might be converted, if there were any one to

preach Christ to her. This excited his compassion, and he thought of ways and means to aid the poor negress, in which he succeeded, as will appear in the sequel.

I will only add respecting the Count's residence at Copenhagen, that, at the king's request to recommend him a worthy and learned man as court-chaplain and professor of divinity, the Count proposed Chancellor Reuss, of Tübingen, whom the king accordingly appointed, and commissioned the Count to communicate with him: in consequence of which, he received his nomination before the end of the year.

The Count also drew up the plan of a new academy for the king, which would probably have been carried into effect, if the Count could have resolved upon remaining in Denmark, and taking charge of the affair himself.

Besides this, he received particular marks of the king's favour on various occasions, and the latter conversed with him in an extremely gracious manner, on the 27th of June, in Fredericksburg, before his departure; the queen did the same, and, in a conference on important subjects, gave him for a motto, *Christus, restituor.*

The Count's profound veneration for these illustrious personages beamed through all his deportment whilst with them; but this did not prevent him from speaking freely on every topic, especially when the Saviour was the subject of discourse.

On the whole, it must be observed, that the Count possessed the most ardent devotion and esteem for the royal family of Denmark, not only at that time, but subsequently: so much condescension, and I may say friendship, was also shown him by them, during his residence in Denmark, that much might still be said upon the subject.*

I pass over other acquaintances which the Count made in Copenhagen, and will only briefly notice, that he became

* The Count says, in writing to the Countess, "The Princess Charlotte Amelia, the king's sister, so encouraged me on my birth-day, that I cannot sufficiently thank God for it. She sent for me to her retreat, and congratulated me so heartily on the occasion, and upon following in the footsteps of Jesus, that I felt reanimated. We conversed together for an hour: she thinks far more highly of us than we deserve."

intimate with several serious divines, both amongst the bishops and the inferior clergy. Amongst these he particularly distinguished the Rev. Mr. Ewald, who preached the gospel with a warm heart to the benefit of many souls, and had something simple, cordial, and edifying in his deportment when in company. The brethren from Herrnhut, who were with the Count, particularly the two Nitschmans, associated much with those who had been awakened under Ewald's ministry, and were well received by them. The Count was likewise anxious to become acquainted with them, and to edify himself with them in the Lord. He also conversed more freely with some, in whom he perceived the most grace and gifts, and spoke with them on the ways of God with much freedom. And before he left Copenhagen, he took three of them, in whom he placed the most confidence, and not only enjoined them to be faithful in watching over the rest, but also implored the Divine blessing upon them, for this purpose, in a heartfelt prayer.

On the 1st of July, the Count took his departure from Fredericksburg, and, after encountering two dangerous storms and a whirlwind, he proceeded on his route by way of Fredericia. In Schleswick he had an audience, on the 5th of July, both of the king and queen, who had preceded him thither: he also visited the Margravine and the two Princesses, with all of whom he had very edifying conversations. On the 7th, he had again an audience, when he took leave of their Majesties, who parted with him in a very kind and gracious manner.

In Stadthagen, the Count visited the Dowager-Countess of Schaumburg-Lippe, with whom he had previously corresponded; from whence he proceeded to Wolfenbüttel, where he waited upon the Duchess, and held a meeting for prayer in the evening, in which he preached Jesus Christ in simplicity. He then pursued his journey by way of Hanover and Brunswick, and arrived, on the 15th of July, in Wernigerode, of which he writes as follows: "The reception was most cordial. The Count prayed with tears. In the evening, I held a meeting, which was numerously attended, and all were affected. In the night, I travelled further."

He arrived at Herrnhut on the 21st of July, at two o'clock in the morning, and found the unmarried brethren engaged in prayer together. As gratified as the church was to possess him again, so much rejoiced was he to find his dear Herrnhut in such prosperity: it had not only outwardly increased, but also inwardly in grace, in an abundant measure. The meeting-house had been enlarged to twice the size, and yet it was filled; five new houses were being erected; his own house in good order, his garden enlarged, &c.; and he could joyfully say, with reference to the church, "As long as Jesus is Lord, fresh grace will he afford."

During his absence, seventy-four fresh exiles had arrived in Herrnhut, whom he invited to dine with him on the 23d of July; on which occasion, some clergymen and other friends unexpectedly arrived from various places, so that, with the elders and assistants, about a hundred individuals sat down to dinner.

The parish of Zauchtenthal, in Moravia, sent two deputies to Herrnhut, with some demands on Martin Liebisch and George Schneider, desiring the magistrate of Bertholdsdorf to send these two men back. The deputies were received with much affection, and opportunity was given them to see and hear every thing. Soon after their arrival, a court was held upon the subject of their application, at which the Count was present. Liebisch and Schneider were then sent for, and told that they were quite at liberty to return. But after they had expressed their sentiments, the Count caused an official answer to be returned to the parish of Zauchtenthal, that he had no wish for foreign vassals, and that they were perfectly at liberty to return to their place. But because they both asserted that it was impossible for them to belong to the Catholic religion, without the profession of which their residence in Moravia was not permitted; and as they had, therefore, resolved rather to turn their backs upon their hard-earned property, it was contrary to the Count's conscience to send back these fugitive exiles against their will: but that all justice had been done to the two deputies, as they themselves would testify.

We must not here omit the journey of two of the brethren, Martin Linner and Paul Schneider, to Moravia, which took

place this year (1731). The former felt induced, from love to his friends, with whom he wished to converse respecting their salvation, to take this dangerous step. After having laid it before the church, leave was given him to undertake the journey.

When he was on his return, he was arrested, with a number of emigrants who had attached themselves to him: but as the guard seemed as if they wished to have nothing to do with him, he listened to the urgent entreaties of his friends, and took an opportunity of escaping. But being afterwards apprehensive lest by so doing he might cause offence to others, he returned to the place where he had been arrested, to deliver himself up. However, he found no one there, and was obliged to remain at liberty against his will. On his return to Herrnhut, the Count and the other assistants of the church, were at a loss what to think of the matter. They therefore minutely investigated the following points: whether the slightest circumstance had arisen, from whence it might be supposed that he had induced the people to emigrate; against which the Count had long before issued a serious warning: whether the people had sold any of their furniture, and taken the money with them, so as merely to leave their habitations; and whether he had seriously reproved them for so doing; and lastly, the reason why, on being taken prisoner, he did not prefer remaining, and wait the result, even should it have cost him his life? Linner explained himself upon these points in a satisfactory manner; but, meanwhile, voluntarily resigned his office. But, in the course of a few weeks, the wonder-working hand of God brought all those who had been imprisoned safely to Herrnhut, who strongly and unanimously asserted his innocence, already pretty clearly established; so that he resumed his eldership with the same simplicity and obedience with which, till the result of the affair, he had laid it down.

Paul Schneider had set out, without saying much about it; and after being imprisoned, he was at length dismissed, with an open document, stating that he had recanted his errors. On his return to Herrnhut, the brethren were perplexed about him, made him relate all the circumstances, and thought it

best that he should return to Moravia, and express himself more plainly, even though he might be cast into prison. He was then called before the council of the church, and the Count made the proposition to him in the name of the church. All wept, for he was much beloved. A letter was sent with him, stating the object of his journey, and he accordingly set out. On arriving at the parish in Moravia, from whence he had been sent away, the officers were angry, and told him to be gone. Paul Schneider asked only for a certificate that he had been there, which he received, and returned to Herrnhut.

Two days after the Count's arrival at Herrnhut, he spoke with the church concerning the negroes and their wretched condition, from what he had heard in Copenhagen. This made such an impression on Leonard Dober, that he immediately thought, that if the Lord found him fitted for the work, he would willingly go amongst the negroes. The same resolution was taken, at the same time, by Tobias Leupold; but though they were intimate friends, yet they said nothing to each other of what was passing in their hearts, until each had made it a matter of prayer before God. Dober, after passing an almost sleepless night, spoke to Leupold upon the subject, and was rejoiced to find that he was of the same mind with himself, and they then united together in prayer respecting it.

Leupold wrote on the 25th to the Count, and stated to him, very simply, the impulse which Dober and he felt in their hearts with respect to the negroes.

This letter was read in the evening to the church, but without mentioning the names.

On the 29th of July, the negro above mentioned arrived in Herrnhut from Copenhagen, with David Nitschman, whom the Count had left there. Soon after his arrival, opportunity was afforded him of stating the matter at a meeting of the church. He related, in an affecting manner, the lamentable state of the poor negroes in the West Indies, and how they not only sighed under almost incredible slavery, but were also a prey to heathen blindness and horrible sins, because they knew nothing of God and Christ. He also stated, that he believed many of them would be converted, if the Saviour were preached to

them, and mentioned his sister in particular; but, at the same time, did not conceal his opinion of the difficulty there would be in procuring an opportunity of instructing the negroes, unless the individual became himself a slave: for they were so overloaded with labour, that there was no time for receiving instruction except during work.

By this statement, the brethren, so far from being deterred, were the more confirmed in their resolution. The thing was afterwards considered in the council of the church; and it was decided that Dober should proceed to the West Indies, but Leupold remain till another time. The departure of the former was, however, delayed for upwards of a year. This was the commencement of the missions of the brethren to the Danish islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John.

Something was also done at the same time, and on the same occasion, for Greenland: for, after speaking of the poor heathens in St. Thomas, the brethren also related some particulars respecting the Greenlanders they had seen in Copenhagen, and what they had heard of Egede's labours amongst them. And after listening to the letter of the two brethren, who offered themselves to go amongst the negroes, two others felt inwardly incited to make a similar attempt amongst the Greenlanders: but because they did not trust to themselves, being still young, they sought to be assured of the will of God, before they made their intentions known. They therefore went together into the wood, cast themselves at the Lord's feet, and mutually implored him to show them whether the project were acceptable to him. Feeling immediately afterwards the assurance of his good pleasure in their hearts, they addressed a letter to the church on the subject, which was publicly read, and the Count cherished the hope, that even in Greenland much good might be done amongst the heathen. He suffered, however, a considerable time to elapse, before he replied to the two brethren, in order that it might be seen how much reason they had for this important undertaking. At length he sent for them, and asked them, if they were still inclined to go to Greenland? and on their replying in the affirmative, he set before them all the difficulties and dangers connected with it; but at the same time assured them, that if they would attempt

it, in reliance upon the Saviour, they might make ready for their journey, with his and the church's blessing. But their departure was also delayed above a year; until, in January, 1733, the first voyage to Greenland was undertaken, and the mission really commenced.

On the 19th of March, 1732, a son was born to the Count, who was baptized by the name of John Ernest, who, however, departed this life on the 16th of May in the same year; and on the 2d of December, his little daughter Theodora Caritas also went to her eternal home, after giving many pleasing proofs of a work of grace having been commenced in her heart.

From the Count's family, I turn to the church, to which his whole heart was attached, and have, first of all, to mention a Commission appointed this year, to examine into the state of things at Herrnhut. He that considers its circumstances, and what was said, written, and published against Herrnhut, may easily divine the reason of this Commission. The privy council in Dresden were desirous of ascertaining whether the complaints against Herrnhut, and especially against the Count, had any foundation. The inquiry had reference to two principal points:—"Whether the emigrants from Moravia had been seduced and enticed from the imperial estates, or whether it was merely a matter of inclination and conscience. The other point was, what there was in the doctrine and practice of the church at Herrnhut, that was so particular—what there was in the latter, which subjected it to so much opposition, and what was the cause of the latter."

The Count having been secretly informed, that Count Von Gersdorf, the lieutenant of the district of Göerlitz, had received orders to make every inquiry upon the points above mentioned, invited him in the most friendly manner to Herrnhut, that he might see and hear every thing with his own eyes and ears: and on his arrival there, on the 19th of January, together with his secretary, the Count treated him with all the respect due to the king's commissary. He then sought to procure the Count the strictest insight into every thing to which his Commission had reference. He continued all the public and special meetings in the ordinary manner, and used all freedom

in his expressions and explanations, lest circumspection should be regarded as the fear of man: nor did the Commission think it too much to be present both at the sermon of Mr. Rothe in Bertholdsdorf, and at the meeting at Herrnhut, and afterwards to listen to the homiletical addresses to all the choirs, in eleven different meetings, which, however, did not require more than a quarter of an hour each. They were also present in the general assembly of the church on the Lord's day, on which occasion the Count spoke extremely boldly, fraternally, and cordially with the members of the church.

On the 21st, the whole church came together, and the Count was not present. The Lord-Lieutenant addressed them in a very friendly manner, stating that his Majesty, in his paternal solicitude, was causing inquiry to be made, whether there were any foundation for the reports that the Emperor's subjects were enticed thither, and into the other objections against the institutions at Herrnhut. One of the brethren answered, briefly and modestly, that they were ready to be interrogated. The chief magistrate then caused each of the emigrants to come forward, and they spoke of the manner of their leaving home, the persecution they had endured (of which more than forty living witnesses were present), and of their hope of salvation, in such a sincere and convincing manner that the commissioners were much affected. During this transaction, all the doors stood open. The brethren afterwards stated, in a memorial to the king's commissary, what else remained to be noticed.

In the afternoon, the Lord-Lieutenant endeavoured to accomplish the remainder of his Commission, and to obtain the necessary information respecting the regulations at Herrnhut: this the Count and Martin Dober, as the two assistants, and who had most to do with their regulations, could best supply. The chief magistrate scrupled indeed to examine the Count himself, but after the latter had removed his hesitation, the Count, with the aid of Martin Dober, gave a documentary statement of the inward and outward condition of the church, and produced all the papers which had reference to it; so that the Commission had sufficient opportunity of ascertaining the true state of the things respecting which inquiry was to be made.

On the 22d of January, Count Von Gersdorf was present at the meeting, which the Count held upon the watchword for the day. He afterwards repaired to the Orphan-house, to inspect the manner in which the children were taught: he also heard the boys catechised, afterwards visited the dispensary, and then the institution for single young men.

When all was terminated with respect to the Commission of Inquiry, the Commissioners departed from Herrnhut. The Count also wrote to the king, at that time in Poland, which letter he forwarded with the documents of the Commission. He made, besides this, a special report to the privy council, in which, as lord of the manor of Herrnhut, he explained the constitution of that place, in accordance with the memorial given to the Commissary by the church, to the effect, that if their residence in the country were displeasing to the government, they were ready to quit it.

The consequences of this Commission were, that from that time forward, the government treated the affairs of the church at Herrnhut with so much wisdom, as to call for praise and thanksgiving to God.

The Count subsequently, received no more Moravians into Herrnhut; respecting which he thus expresses himself:— "The emigration from Moravia having cost the life of two dear brethren, who had returned thither against my will and advice, I have, since 1732, entirely ceased to receive emigrants, nor have I suffered any one of this description of character to settle under me: and after his Majesty had made it known, in August, 1733, that in consequence of the compacts with Bohemia, he was disinclined to admit the further settling of emigrants in his territories, I could no longer think of it for conscience' sake."

During the time that the Count filled, in turn with the other assistants, the office of joint-elder, Rock and Tuchtfeld arrived in Herrnhut.

Love and truth were the objects which the Count had in view, in his intercourse with them; but he did not wish that either of them should infuse their sentiments and opinions into any one at Herrnhut, or seduce them from their simplicity: for this reason, he afforded them an opportunity of

speaking publicly in the church, and requested them to express themselves freely upon every thing they had to say. Having people before them, who lived in the grace and knowledge of Christ, they were ashamed of advancing any thing in the church which did not tend to edification.

Rock had indeed some of his fits of inspiration at Herrnhut, but without any further result than his being listened to without disturbance: that which was strange and unintelligible in them, was suffered to pass unheeded; the remainder was quietly considered, and where any objection arose, it was made with all simplicity. The brethren and sisters adhered to the main point, did not desire extraordinary things, but made it their chief concern to taste and see how good the Lord is.

The Count had, some time before, made an attempt to take personal charge of the boys. He sent for them early every morning, with their teacher, and let them spend the whole day in his ante-room. He visited them there as often as he could, and made himself acquainted with each of them. He wished to know the course they took, and to speak from experience upon the manner of teaching children: for they lay much upon his heart, and the object of his labours with them was, that they might really become that which was often said of them—"the hope of better times."

He did not, however, proceed far in this well-meant undertaking: he was not altogether fitted for the instruction of children, nor did he possess the requisite gifts. He that desires to teach and educate children, must entirely devote himself to it, to the neglect of every thing else: besides, it is necessary to have much patience with the inherent naughtiness of children, until they are amended by grace. But the Count was already so much occupied with the affairs of the church, and the care of souls, that he could not possibly devote himself wholly to the children. The faults he observed in them, also caused him too much pain to endure it for any length of time: the regulation with the boys, therefore, was not of long duration; but was of this advantage to him, that he derived a clear idea of the labour of educating children.

This year (1732) the church at Herrnhut thought seriously of having a pastor of their own. In the letter written to the

Count on this occasion they say, "The inhabitants of Herrnhut having increased to about five hundred persons, thus forming a place of itself, and having been hitherto obliged to submit to many difficulties, or else be exceedingly burdensome to the vicar of Bertholdsdorf on the occasion of weddings, baptisms, funerals, and in other ways, as well as that in consequence of an intervening eminence, we are almost cut off, during the winter season, in heavy falls of snow, from the parish of Bertholdsdorf, and, from inability to attend church, are apprehensive of causing offence. We can think of no better means than to request that we may have a Lutheran minister of our own, so that we may be under his special pastoral care." After describing the duties which such a minister would have to perform, they say, "that they were unanimous in accepting Mr. Steinhofer to fill that office, should the Count reflect upon him." In consequence of this, Steinhofer was invited to be assistant preacher in Herrnhut.

In April, the Count set out on a journey. He left Herrnhut on the 23d, and was in Leipzig on the 27th. In Jena he addressed the awakened students from the words, "Thou knowest that I love thee;" and in Ulstedt, upon the passage, "In Christ Jesus, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth any thing, but a new creature."

He then proceeded to Saalfeld, and afterwards to Neustadt-an-der-Aisch, to visit Superintendent Steinmetz. I travelled with him, and the journey proved a blessing to me. On the 3d of May, we arrived safely at Neustadt, and were received by the superintendent with much affection. Having a short time before received a call to Closter Bergen, he was uncommonly rejoiced at the Count's arrival; for he not only wished to hear his sentiments upon it, but also, if the Count were so disposed, and if he resolved upon accepting the call, that he would make the matter known to the Margrave of Bayreuth. The Count accordingly agreed to do so.

Meanwhile, he conversed with the superintendent upon the affairs of the church at Herrnhut, for the latter felt a particular interest in the awakening which had taken place amongst the brethren in Moravia. Professor Reuss having

also arrived at Neustadt on his way to Copenhagen, for the purpose of entering upon his office, opportunity was afforded of conferring with the superintendent on many subjects connected with the state of things in Copenhagen, so far as they had reference to the Saviour's cause. The Count was anxious to do all in his power to promote a new translation of the Bible, in which, after being careful that the true meaning of the sacred writers was ascertained, all pains should be taken to bring it into plain, simple, and intelligible language. This was one of the chief things on which he wished to converse with the superintendent, and hear his opinion upon it.

From Neustadt, the Count made an excursion to Castell, where he had not been for eleven years. He there called to mind, with gratitude towards his Saviour, all that had occurred to him in that place. He was very kindly received by his aunt, the Countess of Castell, and wrote from thence to his consort: "My spirit returns to me again upon this journey: for the eyes of the Saviour guide me. I labour without any will or purpose of my own, and thus every thing succeeds."

On returning from Castell to Neustadt, he had another important interview with the superintendent, and left most of his writings in his hands, that he might refer to them for whatever was requisite.

I then returned to Jena, and the Count, at Professor Reuss's request, travelled first of all to Nürenberg, where he met with some of his former acquaintances. He here became acquainted with several awakened individuals, but did not harmonize altogether with them: however, he writes, that they spent the 10th of May with much benefit to their souls.

On the 11th of May, they arrived at Bayreuth, and were soon visited by Mr. Silchmüller, the chaplain to the court. The Count afterwards waited on the Margrave, and had a long private conference with him: the latter refused, at first, to listen to Steinmetz's removal from Neustadt, but, at the same time, gave the Count to understand, that he was very solicitous of promoting all that is good. The Count was then invited to be present at the celebration of the Prince's birthday, which was the day following; but he declined it, being

desirous of hastening his departure; however, he addressed a numerous assembly the same day in Mr. Silchmüller's house, at his request, in the grace and power of Jesus Christ.

On the 12th of May he reached Ebersdorf: it happened to be the Countess Theodora's birth-day, with whom the Count had a very cordial and edifying interview. Finding that a misunderstanding prevailed amongst the brethren at Ebersdorf, he endeavoured to remove it, and it was at length agreed to leave those that were serious, to act according to their own conviction; whilst they, on the contrary, were not to judge of others, that thus they might live together in peace and harmony.

On the 20th of May, the Count arrived safely in Herrnhut with Professor Reuss and the rest of his company. About this time, a very unpleasant affair occurred with a number of Bohemian exiles. These people had settled upon the estates of the Baroness Von Gersdorf at Great Hennersdorf, about a league from Herrnhut, with the consent of her ladyship: but such a misunderstanding arose betwixt her and them, that they left the place without further ceremony. They came unasked to Herrnhut, and begged the Count would receive them; but this he could not do without an understanding with the Baroness Von Gersdorf. He therefore wrote to her and inquired into the circumstances of the case. Being informed, in the reply, that these Bohemians had been guilty of insubordination, and had not been discharged from their fealty, the Count, by a written decree, gave them to understand that he could not receive them.

However, they were already on the spot, and many of them were infected with contagious disorders; hence it was as difficult to provide them with a residence, as it was painful to send them away in such a wretched condition. There was also no room to receive them in Herrnhut as guests; besides which, few understood their language. However, the Count suffered them to want for nothing, either with respect to attention or instruction, as long as they were upon his estates; and exhorted them, at the same time, to act like Hagar, and return to their former masters. Instead of doing this, they acted contrary to his wise and faithful advice, and took their

departure in a body. But on reaching Göerlitz, they were stopped; and although afterwards suffered to proceed, yet their preacher, Liberda, who had been particularly officious in instigating their departure, was sent to the house of correction at Waldheim. But this affair caused the Count much suffering from various quarters.

Leonard Dober's resolution to preach the gospel of salvation by Christ to the poor black slaves in St. Thomas, was a matter of great importance to the Count. He therefore occupied himself much with him from the time of his expressing the determination above mentioned, and also took him with him on his last journey, in order that by closer intercourse with him, he might have an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with him.

There being no objection, either on the part of the Count or of the church in Herrnhut, to Dober's well-tried purpose, he commenced his journey on the 21st of August, 1732.

I must indeed confess, that neither the Count nor the rest of the brethren had at that time any clear idea how the hearts of the heathen were to be gained for the Saviour. They were indeed generally aware, that it was a great thing to open the eyes of the heathen, and bring them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God; as well as that this could only be accomplished by the preaching of the gospel, which is the power of God for the salvation of all them that believe. It was also believed, that all the labour bestowed on the heathen would be in vain, if the Lord and his Spirit did not co-operate, and open their hearts to attend to the word. Hence the Count and the rest of the brethren made the missions to the heathen a principal point, in which they were unanimous, in faithfully pleading it before the Lord in prayer. But as they were destitute of any experience in the matter, the Count preferred giving no instructions to the first missionaries to the heathen, but commended them to the Lord and the word of his grace.

But in the sequel, after the Count had personally considered the matter with those who had preached the Saviour to the heathen, and been amongst them himself, directing his attention, at the same time, to the obtaining of a correct insight

into the best method of being beneficial to the heathen, he was able to state to the missionaries how they ought to proceed in the matter. The following are some of his ideas upon the subject:—

He did not deem it advisable to begin by demonstrating to the heathen the existence of God, as is generally the case: since the word of God asserts that this is known to them; the invisible things of God being clearly understood by the works of creation. (Rom. i. 20.) But the poor heathens do not know that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners; and hence this must first be told them. Christ must therefore be the primary subject in preaching to the heathen; and the commencement must be made with his incarnation, sufferings, and death. The simple narrative, how he suffered and died for us, which is, to reason, foolishness and a stumbling-block, will prove itself to be the power of God, and the Holy Spirit will bear witness to it.

He regarded it as not good to mention much to the heathen respecting the various sects and parties in the christian church. "If their hearts are once directed to the Lamb of God, to his blood, and to their Creator, who also became their Saviour,—they may afterwards speak with a Lutheran, a Calvinist, or a Catholic, without their being able to state of what religious persuasion they are, and yet converse as evangelically with them as if they knew the Augsburg Confession by rote. If we lose sight of this plan, our whole ministry will be unavailing."

He did not desire national conversions, but preferred that attention should be paid to those unto whom the word found admission, and that such should be faithfully cherished. In short, he was not so much for a net, in which all that came are caught, but for a select number, and a little flock of vital Christians.

He wished that, in the instruction of the heathen, every thing should be deduced from the love of Jesus; showing how this love impelled him to give his life a ransom for many, and pointing to him as being alone able to forgive sins and deliver them from sin, death, and the devil. And then when, by Divine grace, they were enabled to place their confidence in him, approach him, and by tasting his goodness be incited to

love him more and more,—opportunity would be afforded of telling them what would cause the Saviour joy, and how they might evince their gratitude to him.

He would not, however, advise any one to go to heathen lands, where the devil was worshipped as God, except those whose hearts were intimately united with Jesus Christ, and filled with his love: for he believed that he who would attack the god of this world in his strongholds, ought to know on what ground he proceeded, otherwise it might fare with him as with the sons of Sceva. (Acts xix. 14.)

It was something quite opposed to his views to persuade any one to go amongst the heathen, and in this he went so far, that he would have broken off a mission already decided upon, if he had only the slightest reason to fear that the brother who had been called to it, repented of his determination: and I know for a certainty, that he would have kept such a one back, even if he had been ready to put to sea at the time.

On seeing that, by the ministry of the brethren, so many heathens were converted to Christ, he could never think or speak of it without heartfelt thankfulness. He, therefore, who does not hesitate to characterise the expressions he used in thanking and praising God for his grace and blessing amongst the heathen, as boasting, may believe to a certainty that by so doing he deceives himself and others.

About this time, several persons who were opposed to the Count, formed base designs against him. The affair with the Bohemians, related above, for which he was blamed by many, and even probably by those who were really in fault, afforded them an opportunity of accomplishing their purposes. Other things were added to this, which had a still deeper foundation, but of which it does not become me to speak. The Count was described by these individuals as a dangerous character, the best means of defence against whom were to put it out of his power to do mischief.

He received information of this, and of the intention to seize his person, and put him under arrest. His friends, who knew of the circumstances, advised him to retire, in order to escape the danger; since it was to be feared, that if once

arrested, he would not easily regain his liberty. The more he was able to prove his innocence, and meet his enemies, the more anxious they would be to prevent him from doing so, under the idea that they would be the most secure, if he remained a prisoner.

The Count, though well aware that his friends had real ground of apprehension on his account, and though convinced that their advice proceeded from the best motives, yet he could by no means resolve to follow it, and withdraw from Herrnhut, without first ascertaining the Lord's will in the matter. Feeling assured, that it was his pleasure that he should continue to serve the church, he not only remained for the time in Herrnhut, but was bold enough not to clear away a single letter or document, and left every thing in its wonted order. This, indeed, caused his friends to be displeased with him, and rendered his mode of procedure incomprehensible to them, since they regarded what he did from fidelity towards the Saviour, as foolishness and presumption.

It must not, however, be supposed that he was assured of a favourable result, and was thus able to place himself above every idea of danger. He expresses himself as follows, respecting his situation at that time: "The dangerous proceedings of the Bohemians broke out in September and October, which were the cause of my subsequent severe sufferings; being bound in spirit, that is, not knowing what may any day befall me, and in the real experience of that which it has pleased our wise and glorious Lord to suffer me to experience of inward and outward affliction."

It was, therefore, nothing but simple obedience towards God which made him resolve to remain in Herrnhut.

Certain events in Ebersdorf occasioned the Count to take another journey thither, during which he also visited Halle and Jena.

Since his previous visit to the latter place, a change had taken place with respect to the awakened individuals there, which certainly affected them much. The Rev. Mr. Brumhard, who had been a very useful preacher of the gospel in Jena, and had faithfully taken charge of those who were concerned

for the salvation of their souls, had been called away to his eternal rest. I had received an invitation to Halle, and thus the awakened students were also deprived of my poor services, which had been employed in their free-schools, public and private meetings, and confidential conversation.

Under these circumstances, some of them thought they had great reason to take heed to themselves, lest their souls should sustain injury, and lest they should remain behind in the spiritual course. Hence they covenanted together anew to establish themselves more and more in the merits of Jesus, and show themselves faithful in the exercise of godliness. To this end they resolved to meet every day, openly and confidentially speak with each other, mutually reveal the state of their hearts to each other, and, at the same time, admonish, reprove, comfort, strengthen, and encourage each other to be faithful to the Saviour, as circumstances should require, and pray for each other. The more frequently and solemnly to confirm this covenant, they went together, every six or eight weeks, to receive the sacrament in the parish church.

This alliance was only the result of that which had been formed in 1728, according to the advice of the Count, but of which few of the members remained, in consequence of their having left Jena, on finishing their academical course.

The Count, on being informed of this circumstance, came to Jena, spoke with each of these students in particular, held a meeting with them for edification, and bound himself particularly with two of them, to be faithful to the Saviour, until they should leave the world. Besides this, he recommended them to Mr. John Sebastian Brumhard, who was a member of the association of 1728, and a pious preacher in a neighbouring village, that they might avail themselves of his counsel and experience. This association, which from that time increasingly extended itself, so as for several years to consist of upwards of a hundred students, furnished, in the sequel, many useful ministers of Christ and his kingdom, both in the Lutheran and Moravian churches, and many of them have also preached the gospel to the heathen.

Of the two students, with whom the Count entered into a particular covenant at that time, one of them is still with us,

whom the Saviour has employed for nearly forty years amongst heathens and Christians, and whose labours have been abundantly blessed. He still remembers, with the most fervent gratitude, the blessed season which he enjoyed during the Count's visit to Jena on that occasion.

The latter arrived again in safety at Herrnhut, on the 23d of November, after a short absence.

On the 27th of November, he received orders to sell his estates. It is very probable, that this order was procured by persons who, though not favourably disposed towards him, did not, however, seek his ruin and that of his family; for it was better that it should be thus, than if he had been arrested.

The intention of the adversary, I believe, was by this sale, to plunge the church at Herrnhut into affliction and sorrow; for had the estates fallen into the hands of wicked proprietors, the community at Herrnhut must have done so too. But God had previously provided that this should not be the case. The Count had carried into effect the resolution he had taken in 1722, in the beginning of September, 1732, and disposed of the whole of his estates to his consort. He made this known to the elders and assistants of the church, to their great astonishment, on the 11th of September. There was, therefore, nothing more to do with respect to the sale, than to inform the authorities of it.

He therefore travelled, on the 11th of December, to Budissin, and conversed upon the subject with Count Von Gersdorf, the Lieutenant of the district. After his return, the sale was completed, with all the requisite formalities.

From the time that the Count parted with his estates, he abided by the intention of possessing nothing of his own in the world. He looked upon himself as a stranger upon earth, who is every where at home. He might afterwards have become lord of many estates; but he regarded it as a favour to be the Lord's pilgrim in the world. "I know," says he, "that I am one of those who naturally prefer being at home, and are the most attached to some abiding place of residence; who easily imagine that they have a variety of things to do, and are able to pass their time in a useful manner:

however, it has not pleased the Lord so to regulate my course of life; but I have also experienced the happiness of being every where at home; after the example of him, who, when a child in the cradle, was obliged to leave his resting-place and travel about in the world."

"The Saviour, who overrules all our affairs, can make us feel truly at home, wherever his wisdom places us for the time, were it even in the midst of a wilderness."

At the same time, it must not be forgotten, that the order to the Count to sell his estates, was meant to convey nothing else than that he should quit the country: but before this took place, the church in Herrnhut assembled, in order to deliberate upon choosing him anew for their superintendent. In this the elders and assistants were agreed. On the 26th of December, they spoke with the members of the church on the subject, and requested every one who had any objections to make, to state his sentiments; because they knew the Count would not accept the office, unless the church were unanimous. The resolution was put to the vote on the 27th, and on the 31st, a day of prayer was held, in which the Lord's peculiar favours during the past year were gratefully remembered, and his further favour and faithfulness implored. The Count was then commended to the prayers of the church as superintendent and co-elder, and received as such with joy and thanksgiving.

He wrote this year (1732) a small treatise, "On the Methods of Satan to hinder that which is good in the Soul; and the Conduct of the Children of God in opposing them."

"The *form*," says he, "they leave entirely unaltered, whatever it may be; and bend their necks to it, if it be not openly erroneous and sinful. Hence they do not separate from the forms of divine worship, in baptism, the Lord's supper, preaching, and other things, enjoined by Christ himself, in which the essential part of them is retained; least of all do they alter them privately, with regard to indifferent things and ceremonies.

"They examine the ground of doctrine only so far as is necessary to salvation; and if they find it correct, they do not trouble themselves about other disquisitions, well knowing that

scholastic disputes do not belong to the character of the children of God.

"With regard to this practice, they abide by the Holy Scriptures, and by the inward kingdom of Christ, confirmed for seventeen hundred years by every true child of God, in which the whole cloud of witnesses coincide."*

* In a letter to the king of Prussia, he says, "The devil gains much more by separating the pious, than if they remained together. Hence evil rulers and teachers sooner consent that the people should separate themselves from church and sacrament, than that they should promote the cause of God in themselves and others, in a strictly evangelical manner."

CHAPTER IV.

JOURNEY TO TUBINGEN—APPLICATION FOR MISSIONARIES—STEINHOFER'S ARRIVAL—DIVISION IN HERRNHUT—JOURNEY TO STRALSUND—REVISITS TUBINGEN, AND ENTERS THE MINISTRY—ORDINATION OF A BISHOP—JOURNEY TO COPENHAGEN—RESCRIPT FROM STOCKHOLM—JOURNEY TO SWITZERLAND AND HOLLAND—BANISHMENT—JOURNEY TO LIEFLAND—INTERVIEW WITH THE KING OF PRUSSIA—VOYAGE TO ENGLAND—INTERVIEW WITH THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY—JOURNEY TO BERLIN—IS ORDAINED BISHOP THERE—RETURN TO HERRNHUT—SECOND BANISHMENT, AND JOURNEYS TO BERLIN, MARIENBORN, &c.—DEPARTURE FOR ST. THOMAS.

It certainly seemed something singular, according to the customary mode of thinking, that the Count should be unanimously re-appointed superintendent of Herrnhut, at a time when he was reflecting upon leaving the country. However, the church in that place were quite in earnest in the matter: the elders and assistants also thought it needful to give him a written call to this office, of which there is an English translation in the *Actis fratrum in Anglia*, amongst the "reports of the Committee" in the appendix. But the Count made no other use of the office, than that which is established in the Statutes in 1727, in which it is said, "No teacher, elder, or superintendent, or any one placed in any respect over another, shall use any other authority than that of being a promoter of their joy and happiness, and a careful assistant in their sufferings, afflictions, and destitution." He, however, felt induced to reflect afresh, with heartfelt solicitude, how the church might be served as faithfully during his absence, as when present.

It was not known, at that time, what would be the fate of Herrnhut, for no express decision had followed the Commission held there the year before; but it was reported, on all sides, that it was fully determined to destroy Herrnhut.

Besides being aware of the danger impending over the place to which he was so much attached, he was obliged to experience much with reference to himself, which caused him grief. A person of high rank, who possessed considerable influence in several courts, placed himself at the head of his opponents; and in those places, where he had been previously highly esteemed, and where many assurances had been given him, that assistance should be rendered him—he was now, for the most part, slighted. The sentiments expressed were generally of the following kind :—"We cannot help him, and must leave him to his fate; for if he is unwilling and unable to alter any thing in his course of life, he must not be surprised at the consequences."

But that which most grieved the Count, at this time, was, the hinderances which occurred in his labours for the good of souls. Amongst these I reckon his illnesses, and especially a complaint in the eyes, with which he was frequently attacked. It was then difficult for him to hit the right measure. If he was inclined to spare himself, and take a little care of himself in consequence of indisposition—first one thing and then another occurred to him, either for the prevention of evil, or for the promotion of that which was of a beneficial nature. He then could not refrain, but undertook the matter, and rose above his indisposition; but this was often productive of such bad consequences, that his pains were increased, and, for a time, he was quite disabled from attending to his occupation. He then felt grieved, and reproached himself so severely, that he was almost inconsolable, with respect to all that which seemed to him to have been neglected. In order to remedy this, he often slighted his illness again, and went to work, but only injured his health anew by so doing.

On the 19th of January, (1733,) the brethren, Christian David, and Matthew and Christian Stach, commenced their journey to the poor heathens in Greenland. Instead of instructions, the Count only requested them, with believing patience, to pay attention to the operation of the Holy Spirit on the hearts of the heathen, render it more apparent to the individual, and bring it into words. And then if they found open ears, they ought boldly to open their mouths, and pourtray to them,

with a warm heart, Jesus Christ, as the only way to life. Afterwards, on perceiving, from their reports, that they had fallen upon the scholastic method, and therefore laboured in vain without any real fruit, it pained him the more, because the undertaking had been much ridiculed beforehand in several places; whilst he wondered, on the one hand, at their incredible fidelity and unwearied assiduity—he was, on the other, concerned to bring them into the right track. He therefore urged them to preach the gospel in simplicity.

He also assisted the mission, from time to time, by sending additional missionaries, and suffered nothing to be wanting on his part. If any of them returned, they made his house their home, and he cared for them no less than if they had been his own family. He was also anxious that their stay in Herrnhut should be a blessing to them, that being thus strengthened by the grace of the Lord Jesus, and edified by the church, they might return to their labour amongst the heathen.

He would gladly have visited the brethren in Greenland himself; but as this was not practicable, he induced several brethren, at various times, to visit that mission.

On the 26th of January, he left Herrnhut, which he termed his first exile, with the brethren, Martin Dober, John Nitschman, and Matthew Miksch.

He arrived on the 31st of January in Ebersdorf, where he remained till the 20th of February. On the 8th, he received intelligence of the king's death, which deeply oppressed his mind. This event, and the whole situation of affairs at that time, caused him much suffering. Respecting this, he says, "The Saviour leads me into such straits, that I can find comfort no where but in resignation."

The Count's residence in Ebersdorf was not without its utility. He made a variety of useful regulations amongst the brethren there, and strengthened himself with them at the Lord's table. On the 21st of February, he pursued his journey to Tübingen. He received many visits in Nürenberg, and became acquainted with several preachers. He caused so much joy to the Rev. Mr. Deubler, of Grieselbach, by his visit and his conversation on the simple doctrine of Jesus, that they continued together in heartfelt intercourse till three

o'clock in the morning. After spending the following day in an edifying manner with each other, and conversing with visitors, who had arrived from several places, they proceeded to Münchsroth, where Martin Dober's family dwelt. From thence they travelled to Göeppingen, where the Count again received many visits. A country clergyman came also in the evening, and passed the night there, in order to benefit by the company of the Count, who afterwards travelled to Ebenhausen, to visit Baron Von Stein.

He alighted at Kirchheim at Dr. Hedinger's, where he found Mr. Steinhofer, to the great joy of them both. The Count was requested to give an exhortation, to which he consented, but stated to the meeting, that he was not in the habit of expounding Scripture; he would, therefore, speak to them from his own experience; and then treated of the reasons why he loved the Saviour. His address proved very edifying. On the 3d of March, he accompanied Mr. Steinhofer to visit his parents; from whence they proceeded to Tübingen, where they arrived the same night, and were received with joy by Professor Pregitzer.

The call which the church at Herrnhut had given to Mr. Steinhofer to become their pastor was, with the express condition, that he would preserve the constitution of the Bohemian and Moravian brethren, in wise connexion with the whole Lutheran church. Certain individuals, however, were not satisfied with this, and constantly maintained, that they ought wholly to resign themselves to their preachers, like other Lutherans, and give up their ecclesiastical constitution. They even secretly endeavoured to prevail on the civil authorities to order them to do so.

Mr. Steinhofer was therefore anxious, as well as the Count, to have good grounds whereon to act. And because the former was from Würtemberg, and had studied in Tübingen, and could not accept such a call without special permission, it was only proper that he should consult those upon the subject, whom he regarded as his fathers in Christ.

The question was therefore laid by Mr. Steinhofer before the theological faculty in Tübingen, "Whether the church of the Moravian brethren in Herrnhut, *supposito in doctrinam*

evangelicam consensu, could continue their ecclesiastical discipline and regulations, which had been in use for three centuries, and yet retain their connexion with the Lutheran church."

In order to answer this inquiry, the theological faculty required a complete account of the doctrine and constitution of the church in Herrnhut, which was accordingly furnished them in writing; they had also opportunity of hearing every particular, both from Mr. Steinhofer, and from the Count and Martin Dober, who, as assistants and syndics of the church, were able to give the best and surest information.

It seemed, however, as if the Count would be unable to take any part in the proceedings, in consequence of severe illness and fever, which seized him immediately on his arrival at Tübingen. However, it happened that this accelerated, rather than hindered the matter; for the professors came to him during his illness, to whom he stated the minutest particulars; and, as soon as he was able to go out, he visited them for the same purpose.

Whilst the theological faculty were considering Mr. Steinhofer's question, the Count was enabled to employ his time for the benefit of others. He was visited by a number of persons of all ranks, and spoke boldly to each of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, as far as it was suitable. Once, a number of separatists came to him, just at church-time, on Sunday, whom, however, he did not admit till after service: then, though confined to his bed, he conversed with them in such a simple and impressive manner, that they were much affected and shed many tears.

He was also requested to speak at the meetings which were held at Tübingen, which he did several times, and afterwards proceeded to Stuttgard, where he arrived on the 21st of March, with Mr. Steinhofer, who remained with him till the 30th, when Mr. Oetinger took his place, until the Count's return to Tübingen. The following particulars are given by Mr. Steinhofer:—

"On the 22d of March, the Rev. Mr. Rieger preached his entrance-sermon at St. Leonard's, at which the Count was present. In the afternoon, the latter gave an address, at the

residence of Madam Von Molk, on loving the Lord Jesus; at which all the prelates who had assembled at the Diet, and all the preachers in Stuttgard, together with many other persons of various ranks, were present. There was a great awakening, and such a confidence excited towards the Count, that they afterwards followed him wherever he went, in order to speak privately with him. In the evening we supped with Mr. Weissensee, member of the Consistory, when Prelate Hochstetter was also present: they were both greatly cheered by the statements respecting Herrnhut, and the boldness which the Count manifested in following Jesus.

"On the 25th, in the afternoon, we rode to Kleinbotwar, to visit Madam Von Geisberg; and, in the evening, the Count held a meeting there, when he spoke upon the yoke of Christ. This proved a great stimulus to the clergyman, who mentioned to me, the following day, how much he had been affected by it.

"On the 26th, we arrived at the Rev. Mr. Ruessen's, of Dürrmüntz, who was greatly rejoiced at seeing his desire fulfilled, and entreated the Lord, that the Count's arrival might be blest to him and those who had been awakened by him, which was abundantly answered.

"On the 27th, there was a conference with the awakened clergy in those parts, respecting their office, and the difficulties they met with in the discharge of their pastoral duties; and, by the wisdom and good advice of the Count, his zeal, and the power of his spirit, they were incited anew to prosecute the Lord's work.

"On the 28th, the Count proceeded to Baron Von Stein's, at Mühlhausen. On the 29th, before service, he held a meeting, which much invigorated those that were awakened, and many who had hitherto remained concealed came forward. In the afternoon he spoke with such power, so heart-penetratingly, and with such boldness and animation, as to render that Sunday ever memorable in Dürrmüntz.

"On the 30th, we left Dürrmüntz, where Mr. Ruessen parted from us, with many tears, and remained over night in Mühlhausen, where the Count again delivered a serious and heartfelt address."

From Mr. Oetinger's diary,* I see that, on the 31st, the Count returned to Stuttgard with him, where the former passed the following day in silent intercourse with the Saviour, and held filial converse with him respecting all his concerns; on which he was abundantly filled with his consolation.

"On the 3d, he visited the celebrated Prelate Bengel, in Denkendorf, who communicated to him his views of the prophetical writings, especially of the Revelations. After visiting Prelate Weissensee, in Stuttgard, he again spoke, on the 4th, in a meeting. On the 5th, he returned to Tübingen. On the 7th, he rode to Metzingen, at the request of Madam Von Leuning, where he also found his friend, Baron Von Stein. The next day, the question being put, in a tolerably numerous company, how fellowship with awakened individuals could be brought about? the Count replied, 'It was difficult to say, but easy to do;' at which those present testified their surprise. The Count explained himself by saying, 'It was only needful that as much zeal and attention be shown for the cause of Christ, as the men of the world evince in their affairs, and the fellowship would soon be accomplished.'"

The Count thus expresses himself, in a letter to the Countess respecting his reception in Würtemberg:—"I have been writing so many letters, that my head aches, and upwards of twenty people are now waiting to hear and speak with me. If distress and disgrace is great in Lusatia, the manner in which I am exalted in this country is certainly a thousand times more painful, and torments me to death."

On the 7th of April, Professor Bülfinger visited the Count, and brought him the intelligence, "that the theological faculty in Tübingen were unanimous in replying in the affirmative to the question proposed to them by Mr. Steinhofer, and that, in accordance with truth, they thought highly of the church at Herrnhut. They were well aware, that this declaration would give offence in other places, but their answer was, that something must be hazarded for the cause of God." The opinion of the theological faculty was accordingly drawn up on the 19th of April.

* Afterwards Prelate of Murrhardt.

On the 16th of April, the Count commenced his return to Herrnhut, and arrived at midnight at Owen, where Mr. Steinhofer's parents resided. Many visiters being there, in expectation of seeing him, he not only took time to converse with them, but also spoke on two several occasions. On the 22d, he visited his friends at Neustadt an der Aisch. Being present, the day following, at the Gymnasium, where one of the teachers spoke openly, in pointed terms, against his colleagues, the Count rose up, and hastily walked out of the hall, through the midst of the auditory. He conversed, likewise, with awakened individuals in Neustadt, who, under many disadvantages, manifested much earnestness and fidelity. He there received a visit from Count Von Castell, to which place he accompanied him, and from thence proceeded to Ebersdorf, where he arrived on the 26th. On the 30th, he prosecuted his journey, and on the 5th of May reached Herrnhut.

During his absence, several events had taken place, in which the Count took a painful interest. A misunderstanding having arisen between the divines in Halle and myself, which terminated in my abrupt dismissal, I was silent on the subject, but my friends were dissatisfied at my being dismissed in such a manner; and thinking that Count Zinzendorf was to blame for it, their confidence in him was entirely at an end. I must, however, confess, that I acted from my own views, and was by no means influenced by the Count in what I did.

The latter, being much hurt at the manner in which I had been treated, wrote several severe letters on the occasion, particularly to Abbot Steinmetz. Being apprehensive, however, that the affair might lead to a tedious controversy, the Count, on his return, laid it before the council of the church at Herrnhut, which resolved upon printing an explanatory document, drawn up by the Count himself.

During the Count's absence, Martin Linner, the elder of the church, had departed to his eternal rest. Three candidates were proposed to the church in his stead; when, after solemn prayer, it was decided by lot, that Leonard Dober should be appointed. The call to that office was therefore sent to him at St. Thomas.

On the 20th of March, the Countess was delivered of a son,

who received, at his baptism, the name of Christian Louis Theodore.

The visits of the awakened Wends to Herrnhut became increasingly numerous. The awakening had taken place amongst them some years before, and on one occasion, when about two hundred of them were in Herrnhut, the Count sent for them, and on their departure, exhorted them to cleave as faithfully and steadfastly to the Saviour, as their predecessors had done to their idols. Various individuals, and the clergy in particular, were displeased with this movement amongst the Wends; and the complaints they made, came to the ears of a certain statesman in Dresden, who had been many years acquainted with the circumstances of that people. On hearing it, he was filled with astonishment, and said, "That there was more reason to thank God for the conversion of the Wends, than to complain of it; for the government would now be left at rest, which had hitherto found them a continual plague."

A rescript from Dresden, immediately after the accession of the Elector to the government, had been also issued during the Count's absence, in which the sale of the Count's estates to his consort was ratified, and permission granted to the Moravian emigrants to reside in the country; at the same time, however, ordering the followers of Schwenkfeld, individually, to quit the country. The Count, who, ten years before, had endeavoured to assist these oppressed people, and afforded them his protection, by permitting them to settle at Bertholdsdorf, could do so no longer, against the express commands of government. This grieved him, but as they informed him that they should be glad if they could remove to some other place under his mediation, he gave himself much trouble to send them to Georgia in North America. He therefore wrote, not only to the trustees of the colony in London, but also to the English ambassador at Copenhagen. After every thing was in train, they found an opportunity of proceeding to Pennsylvania, where they reside to this day, and live outwardly in prosperous circumstances.

Soon after his arrival in Herrnhut, he also received permission himself to remain quietly in the country. This was the more gratifying to him, from his attachment to the church

at Herrnhut, and his love for its service; and he wrote a letter of thanks to the Elector on the occasion, in which he says, "That, as he was not able to contribute any thing towards his Royal Highness's service, he desired wisdom from God, to give not the smallest occasion of displeasure or trouble to the Elector."

It was at this time that the Count, from the unmerited confidence he reposed in me, wrote to me, with the consent of the whole church, to aid him in the work of the Lord, and to become one of the assistants, whose office has been already described, and which proved a real blessing to me.

On the 21st of May, letters arrived from Copenhagen, in which twelve or fifteen brethren were requested to take the oversight of the sugar plantations, which the Lord Chamberlain, Von Pless, was about to establish in St. Croix. It being expected that this engagement would afford the brethren an opportunity of doing much good to the slaves, it was taken into mature consideration: but before coming to a decision upon it, the Count wrote to Copenhagen, stating that a chief condition would be, perfect liberty of conscience, both for themselves, and for all who should be converted by them. On the Count's receiving the assurance that there would be no difficulty in granting the brethren this liberty, in the confidence that they would seek nothing but what was in accordance with the doctrine of Jesus and the precepts of the Apostles, and that it was not intended to injure any one's conscience in St. Croix—the deliberations of the church upon the subject were continued.

Meanwhile, David Nitschman, the elder, who had accompanied Leonard Dober to St. Thomas, returned, and gave the requisite information respecting those islands. It was therefore resolved, neither to persuade, nor to compel, any one to such an undertaking; but that if any one wished to enter upon it, he should himself make it known. After several had done so, each of them were thoroughly informed of what they had to expect, that no one might act upon superficial grounds in an affair of such importance.

The Count, however, was not very favourable to the measure, earing lest the brethren, when engaged in worldly occupations,

might both receive injury in their own souls, and be of little benefit to others. At length, on the 16th of August, it was decided who should proceed to St. Croix. They were fourteen in all, besides four sisters, whose husbands were among the number. Tobias Leupold was appointed over them, and I was commissioned by the church to accompany them as far as Copenhagen. The day following was entirely devoted to them. The Count once more placed every difficulty which might occur, in a very clear light, before them; but they continued firm to their purpose. The Count devoted himself, also, entirely to them on the 18th, and his last words to them were, "Never to forget that they were dispatched to St. Croix, not for their temporal advantage, but to promote the Saviour's cause amongst the negroes."

On the 2d of June, Count Reuss, with his consort and her brother, Count Louis, of Castell, with several others, came on a visit to Herrnhut which lasted for two months. Greatly as the Count was gratified by their visit, yet it was the means of adding considerably to his labours. Whilst anxious to render the residence of his noble guests in Herrnhut as agreeable and edifying as possible, he took care that the church should suffer no diminution of his services. He afforded them opportunity, not only of conversing at appointed times with devout and learned persons, but also of being present at the conferences of the assistants and officers of the church. In these they heard every thing that transpired in the congregation, whether good or bad, by which means they very naturally became acquainted with the internal and external state of the church, which gave them great pleasure.

Besides this, the Count gave the brethren and sisters an opportunity, at a love-feast, of showing their christian affection for Count Reuss, whose birth-day had just been celebrated, by their cordial benedictions, which they expressed in appropriate verses from well-known hymns, and which made a particular impression, both upon himself and his friends. Two days after, he took his departure from Herrnhut.

Meanwhile, Mr. Oetinger, a man of singular sentiments, and well acquainted with the original languages, arrived at Herrnhut, on the 26th of June, from Würtemberg. This afforded

the Count an opportunity of resuming his biblical labours, from which he expected much benefit. He instituted a *Collegium Biblicum*, in which the original text was the subject of discourse. Much was spoken of a new translation of the Bible, and what was to be observed in order to attain the object. It was agreed, that only an attempt should be made, and the commencement was really tried with the New Testament: but on comparing our work with Luther's translation, we were always unanimously of opinion that the latter, on the whole, was preferable.

On the 12th of August, which was set apart for prayer in Herrnhut, one of the individuals who, as we have already related, had not only erred from the right way himself, but also seduced others from it, and afterwards fell sick, so that his life was despaired of, during which he suffered the greatest agony of conscience,—was carried into the meeting, whilst the congregation were together. His appearance was most pitiable, and he looked more like a corpse than a living man. He began to confess his sins, and entreated the members of the church to forgive him, and to receive him again into their number. The whole congregation, who were just singing—

> " Grace is what we seek from thee;
> Thou the soul's Physician be!
> Sin-sick souls in thee have found
> Grace to heal their every wound,"

when he was brought in, could not look at him without shedding an abundance of tears: but the Count, against whom he had chiefly offended, rose up, fell on his neck, kissed him repeatedly, and wept heartily with him, whilst he sobbed aloud. The other elders and assistants also rose up and did the same. The Count afterwards addressed the church, and stated, that he regarded it as a work of Divine grace, when any one acknowledged and confessed his sin and misery; for those who were not the subjects of Divine grace, went on in their sins, without becoming properly acquainted with themselves, or confessing their sinfulness. He therefore heartily forgave the man. The other brethren declared themselves to the same effect. On this the Count knelt down with the

congregation, and prayed, in the midst of many tears, which were shed both by the congregation and the sick man, that the Saviour would have mercy upon him, and graciously look upon him. The meeting was then closed, the sick man began to recover, regained his strength, and obtained permission to return to Herrnhut.

Steinhofer also arrived there, to enter upon the office to which he had been called: but a difficulty had arisen. When the matter was notified to the proper authorities, a royal rescript appeared, ordering that Mr. Steinhofer should take the place of Mr. Rothe: the latter being unwilling to this, Steinhofer could not resolve upon accepting it, and thus the whole affair was rendered abortive.

These and other circumstances induced the Count to divide the inhabitants of Herrnhut into two sections. The Moravian brethren, and those connected with them, he looked upon as witnesses for the truth, whom the Lord had raised up to carry his gospel amongst the heathen, or wherever else they might be called. He therefore left them what they really were—a peculiar people, and, in a certain sense, a particular church. They had their own officers, and, besides the general assemblies, to which every one had access who resided in Herrnhut, they had also their separate meetings. The rest of the brethren and sisters constituted another distinct flock, and had likewise, besides the general assemblies, their own meetings and officers.

Even as the object of the latter was to remain on the spot, and maintain themselves honestly and live piously; so the others made their arrangements for becoming missionaries, and ministering to the church of God scattered all over the world. The benefits arising from this regulation will be seen in the sequel.

In 1734, the Count actually entered the ministry,—an event which he had for such a length of time desired. He had previously removed every worldly impediment out of the way; but as he would do nothing without the consent of the church in Herrnhut, and particularly of his consort, he first of all made the elders and assistants of the church acquainted with

his intention. I myself was present, when he spoke with them on the subject for hours together. It was considered from every point of view, and many objections were made against it, especially by the Countess, who, as a sensible lady, clearly foresaw the consequences of such a step, and even foretold him all that would befall him after becoming a clergyman.

He himself saw its consequences sufficiently clearly, but brought forward such arguments in defence of his intention, as could not be rejected. He asserted, that he had a divine call to preach the gospel, and showed, at the same time, how improper it would be to appear in the church as a preacher at one time, and at another in a worldly dress. Besides, it was not a matter of indifference, whether the gospel were preached in a private meeting or publicly: for churches and pulpits had a preference, and it was certainly of importance, that the word of God should be preached unto every one, for it never returns to him void.

Since objections were still made, and after every thing had been considered and reconsidered, it was resolved, on both sides, to leave the decision to the Lord; and when this was done, the lot confirmed the Count's intention.

After arranging matters thus far with the Countess and the brethren at Herrnhut, he went to Stralsund, to speak with the divines there upon the subject. A trivial circumstance was the ostensible occasion of this journey. A merchant of Stralsund, of the name of Richter, wrote to Herrnhut for a preceptor for his children; on which the Count resolved to go himself, and take charge of them; but in his reply, only informed the merchant, that a person would be sent as he desired. He took his departure on the 17th, with David Nitschman. He had weighty reasons for travelling incognito; respecting which he says, "The only inconvenience is, that I hear things said of me which grieve me; and I dare not contradict, lest the attention of the people should be excited."

He set out from Herrnhut with his own horses, but afterwards travelled by the ordinary post. On arriving in Stralsund, on the 29th March, he visited Superintendent Langemak, and frankly opened his mind to him, but without making himself known. He then began the instruction of Richter's

children, and continued in the house, under the name of Louis Von Freydek, which address the letters he received also bore: but in order to spare Mr. Richter unnecessary inconvenience, he suffered himself to be called in the house only Mr. Louis.

During his incognito, the Count diligently devoted the time which was left him from instructing the children, to his writings. Soon afterwards, Langemak, who from illness had long been unable to enter the pulpit, requested him, as a candidate for the ministry, to preach for him. He accordingly did so, on Sunday, the 11th of April; spoke of the walk of mankind according to reason, faith, and the flesh, and was much approved of. How he felt on preaching this his first public sermon, he expresses in the following terms:—"Poverty and weakness almost to despondency, and then a heartfelt assurance of the Divine favour, with such a flow of appropriate language, as never before!" This procured him closer acquaintance with the superintendent; of which he says, 'Amongst other pleasing subjects of discourse, he also referred to his writings, and showed me his catechetical work, with a short sketch how he intended to refute Count Zinzendorf and the people at Herrnhut. I asked him if he had read the writings of the latter; to which he candidly answered in the negative, but recommended me Dr. Weidner's work in their stead; to which I replied, as well as I was able, and begged him first to read the Count's writings himself, which he promised to do. He did so, and the consequences are well known."

The Count now earnestly applied for a theological examination, and in this he had two things in view: first, he wished to know himself, and hear from the lips of undoubted divines, whether the Lutheran doctrines, as preached by them, agreed with the fundamental truths which he had hitherto believed and taught: and next, that he might have an opportunity of making a free profession according to truth, before those who were able to judge of it, that they might know and openly certify whether his doctrine agreed with that of the Lutheran church or not.

After the Count had made himself known to the divines in Stralsund, and conversed with them for several days together,

he was four times requested by them to preach: but, during this time, he continued incognito with their consent, that the favourable reception of his sermons might be ascribed solely to the word of God, and not to rank or person, which would, perhaps, only have given rise to useless questions. And thus he preached, on the 21st, upon the words, "She hath done what she could;" respecting which he writes, "I preached with liberty, but was obliged to break off on account of the time, and exclaimed, 'Have you also done what you could?' On the three Easter holidays, I preached Christ; 1st, as a King—a greater than Solomon; 2d, as the true Prophet, with spirit and fire; 3d, as the Priest, who is Lord of peace."

The testimony drawn up and signed by Professor Langemak and Dr. Sibeth, after a long examination, was in every respect highly favourable to the Count, his doctrine, and to the church at Herrnhut. With respect to the examination, I will only add, that both parties set about it in a sincere and profound manner. The Count observes regarding it, "When it is necessary to profess the truth, I maintain that we ought to do so, and not deny it; and this I have honestly done in Stralsund, where I have verbally, in writing, and in my five sermons, said every thing that I ever believed and taught, in theory and in practice, and even all the faults I have committed."

After the examination was over, the Count laid aside his sword, and promised never to wear it again. He also engaged, in a letter to the divines above mentioned, to enter upon the track of Prince George of Anhalt, withdraw entirely from worldly affairs, and instead of them, take upon himself the care of souls, and other ecclesiastical duties.

During his stay in Stralsund, the brethren, Andrew Grasman and Daniel Schneider, arrived there on their mission to the heathen in Lapland. He had much conversation with them on the object of their journey. On the 28th of April, they sailed for Stockholm.

He enjoyed a very friendly intercourse with the clergy in Stralsund. The superintendent spoke of his affairs very confidentially with him; and he dined several times with Dr. Sibeth. Respecting his departure, he says, "After taking a very cordial leave of the superintendent and Dr. Sibeth, at

which they were both much affected, I set out, in the name of my dear Saviour, after fully and blissfully accomplishing my purpose." He also made himself known to Mr. Richter, whose astonishment may be easily conceived; and after an affectionate farewell, he proceeded by way of Stettin and Frankfort on the Oder, to Herrnhut, where he arrived on the 8th of May.

Soon after his arrival, he sent off an express to Dr. Löescher of Dresden, informing him what had taken place at Stralsund. He also wrote to the same effect to the queen of Denmark, on which occasion he mentioned his intentions respecting the future.

The heartfelt desire which the Count possessed to do good, according to his ability, had suggested to him the idea of a theological seminary. Applications began already to be made to him for individuals suitable for all kinds of offices in the church and schools; and it was probable that this would continue to be the case in a still greater degree. He also hoped and wished to find more opportunity of preaching the gospel to the heathen. For these reasons, he was desirous of having an institution for the support of some learned men, who should always be ready to be employed wherever they might be required.

He heard of several vacant cloisters in Würtemberg, and thought whether Duke Charles Alexander might be induced to appoint him prelate of one of these cloisters. His intention was, in this case, to repair it at his own expense; to accept nothing for the support of the members of the seminary, and least of all for himself, although customary in the Würtemberg prelacies. He not only regarded the thing as possible, but thought that an intention so disinterested, which was calculated to be beneficial to the church of Christ in a variety of ways, would be eagerly promoted.

Intending myself to travel to Holland, England, and America, he proposed to me to go by way of Stuttgard, and make inquiry respecting the above project in the proper place. I assented, left Herrnhut on the 8th of July, 1734, and arrived safely in Würtemberg: it was during the time that Philipsburg was besieged by the French, and Duke Alexander was occupied with martial affairs. I therefore travelled to the

head-quarters of the imperial army, and laid the affair before the Duke. I received a reply from the cabinet secretary, dated the 20th of October, the substance of which was, "That though His Serene Highness had a particular regard for the Count, yet the thing seemed to him rather hazardous. The Count was every where celebrated for his distinguished piety. His entering the clerical profession was extraordinary. His appointment to a Würtemberg prelacy would become the subject of general conversation, and excite a great sensation amongst the Catholics. The Catholic clergy would infer that the Duke intended again to become a protestant, &c."

But before the Count could be informed of the particulars of this affair, he wrote on the 8th of November to the Ecclesiastical Directory of Würtemberg, and informed them of his intentions, "That having taken the resolution, in God's name, to enter the ministry according to the apostolic example, (1 Cor. xvi.) he hoped that their reverences would wish him the Divine blessing on the step he had taken, and afford him their spiritual advice and assistance as might be necessary and requisite in the sequel." The Directory replied, on the 8th of December, with great kindness, and assured the Count, "That they would praise the Lord for, and implore his blessing on the Count's rare and laudable decision, to devote himself entirely to the service of God and the souls of men, imploring him to glorify himself in it, crown such distinguished fidelity with much spiritual success, and preserve every thing, in its progress and accomplishment as his work, to the praise of the glory of his grace."

Meanwhile, he came himself to Würtemberg, and laid his sentiments before the theological faculty in Tübingen. On which the faculty published a Latin programma; in which, after approving of his resolution to devote himself to the ministry, they add, "For though a particular call and ordination to the pastoral office and its functions is requisite, yet we cannot see how bounds are to be set to the course of the gospel; and why able and suitable individuals, especially with the consent and at the desire of the church, should not occasionally preach in public, since such a prohibition would run contrary to the customs of our church."

On the very same day, which was the fourth Sunday in Advent, the Count preached both in the abbey church and hospital in Tübingen, and thus publicly entered upon the ministerial functions.

If it be asked, at what time the Lord of heaven and earth glorified his Son Jesus Christ, and the atonement made by him, in a very especial manner, in the Count, it was during this year. Dippel's violent opposition to the doctrine of the Saviour's paying a ransom for us, in redeeming us, not with silver and gold, but with his own precious blood, was the occasion of it.

This man, of whom we have already spoken, saw the declining state of religion, and the reigning corruption both of preachers and hearers; whilst, at the same time, they comforted themselves with, and boasted of the merits and sufferings of the Saviour; and he probably thought he was doing God service, by depriving the people of this support. Many of the clergy had not only deplored the fact, but preached against the abuse of the gospel, and against making it a cloak for wickedness; and it would seem that John Arndt's "True Christianity" had proceeded from his grief at the conduct of such people. But they did not, by so doing, overturn the foundation on which all godliness must be built, and without which there can be no real religion; although it was perceptible, that the merits and the sufferings of Christ were held forth by many, lukewarmly and sparingly, whilst the earnestness and efforts required of us, were strenuously insisted upon. But Dippel made it his business directly to attack the doctrine of the merits of Christ, and our ransom by him.

This induced the Count to enter fully into the subject, as that on which our salvation for time and eternity depends. He that reads his subsequent writings and discourses, will every where find in them, as the prominent subject, "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world," and the blood of atonement, which cleanses us from all sin. And the preaching this doctrine was the commencement of the happiest times of the church at Herrnhut, and of its usefulness in many hundred places in different parts of the world, as well as of the most horrible opposition to it.

He was very solicitous, before entering the ministry, to settle every thing which was in any measure not in accordance with it. Hence he conferred, respecting his state of mind, very fully, not only with his Saviour, but also with the elders and assistants of the church; and besides this, fixed a time for every one of them freely to express his sentiments respecting it in the presence of others.

He likewise regarded it as necessary, before entering the ministry, sincerely to ask forgiveness, in every case where offence had been taken, either justly or unjustly, wherever he thought himself in the least to blame. And in this he did not act as most people do, "Forgive me, if I have done any thing to displease you;" but he mentioned his mistake, and sought it out himself. And this he repeated also frequently in the sequel.

I now come to the Count's labours in the church. And, first, with regard to his sermons. We have already observed, that he began this year to preach the doctrine of the atonement by the blood of Jesus Christ, and of the merits of his life and sufferings, more earnestly than before. The custom of many preachers, to speak only of what men ought to do and leave undone, and almost forget in their sermons that mankind are entirely sinful in soul and body, and therefore unable to lead a holy life, and the necessity of directing them first to Jesus, in whose blood, grace, and freedom from sin can alone be found,—this seemed lamentable to him. "It is evident," said he, "that by such sermons, they are not brought to the true exercise of a holy and spotless life, to which Jesus has opened the way, and for which he has purchased the power. But when they preach Jesus Christ as the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world, and as the propitiation for the sins of the whole world, with demonstration of the Spirit and with power; and when poor lost men come to Christ, and find grace and the forgiveness of their sins in his blood—their hearts are then filled with the Holy Spirit and the love of Christ, and they obtain a desire and power to follow him, and to live according to his will."

With respect to the meetings, he arranged them, with the consent of the council of the church in Herrnhut, in such a

manner, that a prayer-meeting was held early on the Sunday morning, for the children and those who, from lawful reasons, were prevented from going to Bertholdsdorf; and this meeting continues to be held in the same manner, with a blessing. It was also resolved, that the children should have their own day for prayer every fourth week, as well as those of maturer years, in which attention was to be paid solely to them, and suitable subjects selected, which were brought before them in an intelligible manner. This regulation likewise still exists, and the blessing attendant upon it has extended further than could have been expected.

He also, with the consent of the council of the church, altered the time of the meeting, previously held at nine o'clock, to twilight in the evening; and this meeting, which was numerously attended, had also its peculiar blessing.

He gave himself much trouble, at this time, respecting the little companies called bands. He held a conference, or conversation, weekly, or once a fortnight, both with the brethren and sisters who were appointed their leaders; he then expected a written or vocal statement, respecting every individual member of them. If admonition were necessary, it was given in a manner adapted to the case, and sometimes with severity: but, by this means, the Count obtained an opportunity of directing the brethren and sisters aright, if their ideas were not quite correct, either with reference to the foundation to be laid, or the edifice to be erected upon it. As long as I was in Herrnhut, I regularly attended these conferences, and must say, that much grace and wisdom were exemplified in them, as also, that explanations and directions decreased, the more the Holy Spirit glorified Jesus Christ and his merits amongst us.

When the Count spoke, on the 6th of January, upon the labours amongst the heathen, many testified their willingness to devote themselves to the Saviour for that purpose, at the hazard of their lives. On the 17th of September, after the subject had been duly reflected upon by each individual, it was publicly taken into consideration; and a considerable number of brethren were destined for the Lord's service, and were afterwards dispatched, some to Greenland, and others to Lapland.

A colony of the brethren set out also for Georgia, with the

intention of introducing the gospel amongst the Indians, and I accompanied them thither.

All these received instructions to direct their efforts solely to the heathen, to whom the gospel had never been preached; for our calling is not to build upon another man's foundation, or to disturb any one in his work, but to take charge of the wretched and forsaken. A mission to the Indians in Surinam was also concerted with the Dutch Surinam Society, during my residence in Amsterdam, at the suggestion of the Count.

He continued to write, this year (1734), several small pieces, which were afterwards collected and published, under the title of "Reflections and Letters of a Person of Rank," with a preface by Steinhofer, who, in consequence of the difficulties which lay in the way of his accepting the call to Herrnhut, was appointed court chaplain in Ebersdorf, with the Count's consent.

In his stead, the Rev. Messieurs Hehl and Waiblinger arrived from Würtemberg, with the Duke's permission, for the service of the church at Herrnhut. The former became bishop of the churches of the brethren in North America, and the other held a similar office in Silesia.

On the 7th of August, a daughter was born to the Count, who received the name of Anna Theresa. The male and female elders of the church, as well as the principal choir leaders, assisted as sponsors; all of whom laid their hands upon the child, and pronounced a benediction upon it.

On the 1st of January, 1735, the Count returned from his journey to Tübingen, to the joy of the whole church; and, on the 5th of February, Leonard Dober, who had arrived from St. Thomas's, was solemnly appointed elder of the church; on which occasion the Count delivered a very impressive address.

Dober brought with him a young negro, named Carmel Oly, from the West Indies, which caused great joy to the whole church, and especially to the Count; for he was the first-fruit of the labours of the brethren amongst the heathen. The Lord also blessed the preaching of the gospel to his heart. It was resolved, for important reasons, to send him to Ebersdorf to be baptized. On the 13th of August, precisely a year after he left St. Thomas's with Leonard Dober, he was brought into

the meeting at Herrnhut, clothed entirely in white, and presented to the congregation, who heartily prayed over him, and pronounced benedictions upon him, with reference to his approaching baptism. The same day, the church also gave its blessing to the brethren, Martin and Böenike, on their intended voyage to St. Thomas.

Leonard Dober then took his departure for Ebersdorf, with Carmel, who was incorporated into the church of God by baptism, on the 22d of August, in that place.

After the baptism, Leonard Dober laid his hands upon his head, and blessed him. They then returned to Herrnhut, where Carmel, who received the name of Joshua at his baptism, after some time, departed this life, giving evidence of the operation of Divine grace upon his heart.

The hopes of the Count, with respect to the work of God amongst the heathen, did not remain untried; for, in the beginning of June, news arrived, that of the brethren and sisters who had proceeded to St. Croix, ten had already left this world. This gave rise to a variety of erroneous opinions amongst those who were not established in grace; and the Count was obliged to bear them, although he had only yielded to the sentiments of others in the St. Croix affair. The circumstance naturally seemed to be no encouragement to other brethren to devote themselves to missionary labours, and to go to distant lands, from love to the heathen: but this mortality caused the Count deep reflection. The Lord, however, not only comforted him, but gave him a word of consolation for others. He accordingly reminded the church of the difficulties they themselves had met with at the commencement, but that the consequences were very blissful; and added, that the ten thus departed would serve as the seed of the conversion of the negroes. God has also verified the words, for we are now able to say, that "a little one has become a thousand."

Small as was the first success of the missions of the brethren amongst the heathen, yet the impression was deep which the subject itself made in the heart of the Count; who expected, notwithstanding the intervening difficulties, that God would bless his word by the ministry of the brethren, to the hearts of many heathens.

He therefore naturally often reflected upon what the brethren would do, in the event of being made instrumental in converting many heathens, with reference to baptism and the Lord's Supper, as well as other parts of the ministerial functions, which are usually performed only by ordained preachers.

The brethren, who went amongst the heathen to preach the gospel to them, were common and unlearned people, who had followed some mechanical trade. Had it been proposed to any ecclesiastical Consistory to ordain these people before their departure, it would certainly not have been listened to: for it is not customary to ordain any one who has not a call to some particular church, and there would doubtless have been an objection to lay hands upon illiterate people and mechanics, and ordain them as preachers.

Were it probable, also, that in case a brother furnished a Consistory with an attestation, that, by Divine grace, he had brought a number of the heathen to the faith of Christ, they would not deny him ordination; yet this was not only very doubtful according to circumstances at that time, but so many difficulties also appeared, that the Count could not propose it. For, besides the great expense which would be incurred by a journey from the West Indies to Germany, and back again, it would not be advisable for a brother to leave the heathen for so long a time at the period when God had granted him admittance to them.

There was therefore no other alternative, than to advise the brethren either to baptize the converts, and not suffer themselves to be hindered by the want of the customary ordination, or to seek it in some other way. However, he foresaw very unpleasant results if this advice were acted upon. The brethren might indeed be able to answer to God for it, if they baptized the converted heathens without having received human ordination. But men, accustomed to the routine of religious regulations, would not fail to infuse doubts into the minds of the converts, and say to them, "You have not yet been properly baptized; for those who baptized you were not ordained; you must be baptized by regular ministers, otherwise you cannot be saved." And a reformed preacher in St. Thomas even ventured to re-baptize a negro, who had been baptized by an ordained

brother, under the pretence, that the baptism of the latter was invalid. The Count was also apprehensive lest the civil authorities, under whom the heathen lived, might be incited not to suffer the ministry of the brethren, because they were not ordained: nor was he mistaken in his apprehensions; for some of the missionaries were actually cast into prison, in St. Thomas, under this pretext.

Under these circumstances, the Count was compelled to seek another way of procuring ordination for the brethren who laboured amongst the heathen. He therefore deliberated with his fellow-labourers, whether it should be proposed that one of the Moravian brethren in Herrnhut should be consecrated bishop, in order that the brethren destined to the missionary service, might be ordained by him?

The Count clearly foresaw, that even if this were accomplished, it might give occasion to his adversaries to accuse the church in Herrnhut, with some shadow of truth, of an intention to burst the connexion hitherto so closely observed with the Lutheran church in Bertholdsdorf, and institute a ministry of their own. Nay, he was not even without apprehensions, that, if the false accusations which had hitherto been unblushingly spread by the Lutheran clergy against them, and himself as their superintendent, should increase, it might occur to the brethren in Herrnhut to think and say, "What occasion is there for fellowship with such people? Why do we not rather abide by ourselves?"

But, on the other hand, the Count not only saw how needful it was to have some one who was able to ordain missionaries, but he also regarded it as the best way, especially with reference to the brethren who were in the English colonies. For he was not ignorant that it had been a question with many zealous men of the Church of England, whether baptism administered by a preacher not ordained by a bishop were valid; and whether one who had been thus baptized, ought not to be regarded as unbaptized if he wished to become a member of the Church of England? He also knew that this had not remained a mere question, but that persons had actually been re-baptized, who, under these circumstances, wished to join the Church of England.

Hence it was tolerably clear to the Count, that the brethren, who acted as missionaries to the heathen in British provinces, should be ordained, and that also by a bishop, who could not justly be disputed as to succession. Now although the reasons for inducing the brethren to propose that one of their number should be consecrated bishop, were stronger than the objections against it, yet they regarded it as for the best to commit the matter to the Lord's hands, and let him decide.

Having thus arrived at the determination to obtain episcopal consecration for one from amongst themselves, David Nitschman was destined to that office by lot.

This Nitschman was one of the five brethren who first came to Herrnhut from Moravia. He had hitherto been one of the assistants at Herrnhut, and had accompanied Leonard Dober to the Island of St. Thomas on his mission to the heathen. He was a man of integrity and simplicity ; and it was obvious that the Lord had been with him in all his ways.

On this the Count wrote to Jablonsky, court-chaplain to the king of Prussia, at that time eldest bishop of the Moravian church, represented the matter to him, and recommended David Nitschman for consecration. Jablonksky, who was highly gratified to see, in his old age, that the Moravian church was thought worthy of scattering the seed of the gospel in various parts of the world, was likewise heartily thankful that the Lord had put it into the heart of the Count to protect the scattered remains of that church, and preserve to them their ancient ecclesiastical regulations and discipline. He therefore conferred with Nitschman, who came to him in February 1735, upon the subject, took time to become acquainted with him and examine his sentiments, and found him sincere in his profession, and very suitable for the object in view. He then, with the knowledge and consent of his colleague in Poland, Christian Sitkovius, ordained Nitschman on the 13th of March, 1735, in the name of God, by imposition of hands and prayer, to be bishop of the foreign churches of the brethren, with power to perform the incumbent visitations, ordain pastors and teachers there, and administer all the functions which belong to a senior and antistes of the churches.

As useful as this measure was with reference to the missions

and colonies of the brethren, yet the Count clearly perceived, that he had much reason to be careful that Herrnhut should not be disturbed with regard to the original regulation as belonging to the parish church of Bertholdsdorf. Hence the Count explained, before the close of the year, that though one of the Moravian brethren had become a bishop, yet they would still avail themselves of the ministry of the clergyman of Bertholdsdorf, and make no change in that respect.

He likewise thought it necessary thoroughly to meet the objections of those individuals, who would gladly have seen Herrnhut cut off from connexion with the Lutheran church; and this induced him to publish his familiar declaration, entitled, "Short, but sufficient and authentic Remarks upon a Work pretending to be a complete Historical and Theological Account of the Fraternity of Herrnhut." Many things contained in it, concerning both the Count himself and the church at Herrnhut, of which incorrect information had been given to the public, were therein rectified.

With the same intention of refuting to the utmost the accusations against himself and the church at Herrnhut, which were spread even in Copenhagen, he resolved to undertake a journey thither.

The party opposed to him, of which we have formerly spoken, increased from time to time, and persons went over to it, from whom it might have been expected that they would have supported the Count. He therefore thought it best to proceed to Copenhagen himself, and seek to bring the matter to an examination.

On the 28th of April he left Herrnhut with David Nitschman, and rejoiced on the way at the watchword for the day, "He led them by a right way." He arrived in Copenhagen on the 8th of May, and fixed a week for the limit of his stay there: nor did he lose an hour in gaining his point. He immediately wrote to the king, the queen, the Margravine, Baron Von Söelenthal, and others, and sent off an express, with the letters, to Friedensburg. Nitschman also travelled thither, and came back on the 10th with pleasing intelligence. The king had written to the Lord Chamberlain, Von Pless, who invited the Count to visit him, and received him in a very friendly manner.

In other respects, the Count kept himself incognito, and made as few visits as he received. His object was to explain himself with respect to the accusations which he had reason to think had been spread against him in Copenhagen, and he had the confidence that this would be agreeable to the royal family. The king sent him word by Von Pless, that there was nothing against him, except that on account of the mistrust of some of the clergy, disturbance was apprehended. To remove this mistrust, an interview with the clergy seemed to be the best means, and preparations were immediately made for it. The Count was glad, and expected further orders concerning it: but instead of these, he received an intimation that such a conference could not take place, because there was no real complaint against the Count. On stating that this grieved him, and that he would have preferred a thorough investigation, he was favoured with an assurance, in the king's own words, that His Majesty had nothing against him and the brethren; and even as he had hitherto shown them all kindness, he would continue to do so in future.

On the 16th of May, he commenced his return from Copenhagen, and, for weighty reasons, resolved to go by way of Sweden. He set sail with the watchword, "God shall help her, and that right early," and arrived at Malmoe, where two majors immediately visited him, with whom he spoke on the salvation of their souls.

The next day he visited a preacher in Malmoe, who was concerned repecting his spiritual state, and, at his suggestion, the Bishop of Lund. His journey through Sweden was not only expensive, but very fatiguing. In Ystädt, where he was detained six days by contrary wind, he employed his time in writing several letters to Copenhagen, and in studying some of the books of the New Testament. He also commenced a tract, known under the name of "The Passenger," of which I shall speak in the sequel. On the 23d, he went on board at eleven o'clock at night, and immediately put to sea, and, after a safe and rapid passage by sea and journey by land, he arrived at Herrnhut on the 28th at midnight.

He had not left Malmoe above a fortnight, when a rescript was issued from Stockholm, stating that Count Zinzendorf,

who had preached at Stralsund, in Pomerania, but had been dismissed from Copenhagen on account of various errors, intended to settle in the Swedish territories, and ought therefore to be deterred from so doing by due representation. This was communicated to the Count by a friend in Malmoe, who added, "I should hesitate to inform you of this, were I not aware that your Grace is already accustomed to such things, and justly regard them as marks of the crucified Jesus."

In this rescript there were various things which were entirely without foundation: for, 1st, it intimated that the Count had been examined in Copenhagen, convinced of his errors; and, 2d, requested, in consequence, to remove from the Danish territories; 3d, that he was no longer able to remain in Saxony; and, 4th, that he had sought a place of residence in Sweden. The Count was, however, less disturbed by the contents of the rescript, than by the results which might follow it, and these he carefully endeavoured to prevent, from love to his Saviour, and fidelity to his church.

He foresaw, that those who were opposed to him would infer from this document, that neither he nor the church in Herrnhut belonged to the Lutheran church, and thus the separation, which would be so injurious to the church of Christ, would be at once accomplished.

He therefore resolved to write a letter in his own name, and that of the church at Herrnhut, to the king of Sweden, and to give in it a direct and clear explanation upon every article of the Augsburg confession, and all the points of doctrine therein contained; but at the same time to premise, that this must not be regarded as any new creed, or new confession, but only as a correct statement of his views and sentiments with respect to the divine truths contained in the Augsburg confession, on which our salvation depends. He accordingly did so, had it printed in folio, and sent it to Ratisbon, where it was distributed not only to the ambassadors of all the three religions, but was sent also to several, principally Protestant potentates.

This year (1735) a hymn-book for the church in Herrnhut was completed: the occasion of it was the "Collection of ancient and modern Hymns," edited by Marche, in 1731, with a preface by the Count. These were given out by some of the

clergy, not only as the hymn-book of the church in Herrnhut, but also as its confession of faith, which was not the case; for the church was not satisfied with many of the hymns contained in it, and a multitude of the expressions employed.

In order, in some measure, to refute a number of accusations, the Count resolved to print this hymn-book of the Moravian church, in which not only many in the former collection were omitted, but many justly censurable expressions altered. The Censor in Lobau, a reasonable man, took the trouble to point out every thing that seemed to him of a doubtful nature, and the Count did his utmost to amend the passages. However, many hymns were still retained, which might well have been omitted; and many expressions remained unaltered, which it would have been better to have changed: such is the case with human imperfection!

This hymn-book was uncommonly well received by many; and the inquiry for it was so great, that it was reprinted in several places. The brethren also published a new edition of it in 1737, with a few alterations.

The objections against it were directed, indeed, more against the hymns which had been taken from other collections, than against the peculiar hymns of the brethren: but as the title stated it to be the hymn-book of the church in Herrnhut, the adversaries thought they had a right to ascribe to the Count and the church every thing improper they really found, or imagined they found in it.

But the Count, willing to make an end of the disputes about it, advised the brethren, in a synod held at Gotha in 1740, to do away with the hymn-book, which advice was accordingly followed.

He also made, in 1735, the commencement of the appendix to the hymn-book of the church in Herrnhut, in which he wished to preserve the new hymns which had been made in the church, although he also inserted some of the old excellent hymns. There are also many of his own composition, as well as of other members of the church, both old and young, of both sexes.

Whenever the Count perceived that any one possessed a gift in writing hymns, he encouraged it, and sometimes gave

several persons a subject to write upon; and when each of them was ready with his hymn, he read them one after another with them, and conversed with them respecting them, in order to give them a better insight into the subject of the hymns, which was frequently accompanied with much unction, and proved highly beneficial to those present.

The first part of the Count's German poems appeared in the beginning of 1735. He had intended to add a second and a third, but did not accomplish his plan. In these poems, he speaks of divine things in such a manner as evidently shows that they emanated from his heart, and from love to the Saviour.

The same year appeared also a periodical work, entitled "Voluntary Gleanings," &c.; to the first Numbers of which the Count contributed several papers, but hesitated to continue doing so. The editor, however, carried on the work till the year 1740, and included in it as many of the Count's smaller pieces as he could obtain. At length he republished them under the title of "Count Zinzendorf's smaller Pieces," together with other edifying tracts; although the Count had already stated in an advertisement, that he was not satisfied with it, and did not regard it as his, since much had been added that was contrary to his sentiments.

A Mulatto, of the name of Protten, accompanied the Count from Copenhagen, whose residence in Herrnhut proved a blessing to him.

In June, David Nitschman, the younger, travelled to St. Petersburg, to obtain information respecting the heathen tribes inhabiting the borders of Russia, and especially respecting the Moravian exiles, who were said to have reached the foot of Mount Caucasus; for which purpose the Count furnished him with letters of recommendation to several gentlemen in Russia.

Towards the end of July, a considerable number of brethren and sisters were dispatched to strengthen the colony in Georgia, besides ten individuals who had already proceeded to St. Croix for the same purpose.

In August, three brethren were dispatched from Herrnhut to Surinam, by way of Amsterdam.

On the 7th of September, the anniversary of his marriage,

the Count had the pleasure of receiving a visit from his aunt, who resided at Great Hennersdorf.

In October, he was applied to by several alchemists, who promised to initiate him into all their secrets, if he would join them in their undertakings; but he sent them a written reply, giving them clearly to understand, that he would have nothing to do with it, and admonishing them, at the same time, to give it up entirely.

Towards the end of the year, he travelled to Switzerland, and resolved, on arriving at Friberg, to go the rest of the way on foot. This was no easy matter to him, from being extremely short-sighted and unaccustomed to walking any distance. He also took no servant with him, nor any brother to wait upon him. One of the Nitschmans, who had accompanied him to Friberg, was sent back to Herrnhut: he did this in order to converse the more unreservedly with his Saviour, with whom he was wont to speak, when alone, as if he were personally with him. It often happened that he missed his way, especially when travelling late in the evening, which was not unfrequently the case, after being retarded by conversing with individuals on the state of their souls.

Whenever he travelled before, he had always some one with him, who acted as purse-bearer, and paid the necessary expenses, respecting which he himself was perfectly ignorant. He was also entirely unacquainted with the various descriptions of money current in Germany; add to which, he often stripped himself completely of money, by giving to those that needed: for if any one requested his aid, he felt assured it was not accidental, but that such an individual was sent to him by the Lord, that he might manifest his charity towards him. He then gave as much as he thought the poor person required, and often forgot to retain as much as he needed for himself; and thus he occasionally experienced what the poor have to suffer when travelling. He was sometimes obliged to wait, till he came to a place where some one knew him, and assisted him with money. Once he had nothing left but the merest trifle; on reaching a house, very weary and faint, he requested a little bread and water for it, but the people laughed him to scorn, instead of assisting him.

In Leichnam, he visited Count Von Gersdorf, and, according to his custom, conversed with him till towards midnight. When about to retire to rest, he felt impelled to continue his journey, and feeling assured that it was his Saviour's will, he ordered a carriage, took leave of Count Gersdorf, and set off, without suffering any thing to detain him. Scarcely had he left the place, when the ceiling of the room, in which he was to have slept, suddenly gave way, and fell down upon the place where the bed stood, which would have crushed him, if he had still been there. This made a deep impression on Count Gersdorf, who frequently related the circumstance in the sequel. I have also inspected the room, just spoken of, with feelings of gratitude towards our Lord and Saviour.

Some days after his departure, the Countess was delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Maria Agnes. In a letter to his consort, he expresses his joy, that she had again become a mother,—that they had mutually to bless and praise God, for his blessing upon them, in rejoicing them with so many children, and that he had the hope they would all rise up to call him blessed.

No authentic account has reached me respecting the remainder of his journey to Switzerland, and therefore I can say nothing more concerning it, than that he visited Zurich and other places. On his return, he spent a week in Nürenberg, where he had so much employment, that he could scarcely spare a few minutes for himself. The last day of his stay there, he rose at four in the morning, and at the same hour in the afternoon he was obliged violently to tear himself away, otherwise he would not have been suffered to depart. An edifying conversation with Count Louis of Castell, and the instruction of an individual, to whom he was greatly attached, in the method of treating awakened souls, were regarded by him as his most important employments in Nürenberg.

From thence he proceeded to Ebersdorf, where he spent his time in a very edifying manner, and spoke with particular effect, during the Christmas holidays, on the words, "Lovest thou me?"

At the close of the year, he returned to Herrnhut; and on

the 31st of December, held a watch-night, which lasted until four o'clock in the morning.

On the 1st of January, 1736, he wrote to the king of Denmark, and requested either his express consent to his entering into the ministry, or permission to return the order of Dannebrog, which, for important reasons, he had still retained. The king did not approve of the former measure, and requested him to send back the order to the Master of the Ceremonies. He obeyed the intimation; but having received it from the hands of the king himself, he returned it to him with a letter.

At the beginning of this year, he was so ill as to be confined to his bed; but after recovering a little, he laboured in Herrnhut just as if he were preparing every thing for his exile. He held conferences with the officers of the church, with reference to all that concerned it, which often began early in the morning, and lasted till late at night. There was not an individual in Herrnhut who was not taken into consideration: they went through the list of those, of whom they were not certain that they possessed spiritual life, and considered, in the presence of God, what was best to be done with them. Those who had become the recipients of Divine grace, were divided amongst them, so that there was not one of them who was not attended to in particular. The doctrine taught was also taken into consideration. The objections against the discourses of the brethren were discussed, and, as far as they had any weight, carefully considered. Luther's method of teaching was referred to, and it was thought very beneficial that his writings should be more read in the church. The various public and private meetings were reconsidered, in order to see how they might be held and regulated with greater benefit. The statutes of the church were likewise gone through, and recommended to faithful observance. A new document was drawn up for the abolition of some abuses, and for the greater promotion of what is good. Every thing was deliberated upon also, respecting the best mode of conducting the schools for the children, the several choirs, and what was to be observed with respect to providing for the poor, receiving strangers, instructing the ignorant,

reproving the unruly, &c.; as well as with regard to the buildings requisite in Herrnhut. The brethren came to an unanimous decision upon the following points:—First, that none of them would suffer himself to be induced to do any thing contrary to his conscience and the Holy Scriptures. Secondly, To avoid all particular opinions, abide by the most simple fundamental truths of the Bible, and have nothing to do with that which has no reference to the practice of Divine truths. Thirdly, To be very careful that no separation take place. Though many things might be objectionable in clergymen, still the sacrament might be received at their hands; seeing that the Saviour endured purification and circumcision from the priests, although there was a great declension amongst them.

After thus cordially and thoroughly conferring with the church, and its elders and officers, the Count, on the 15th of February, commenced his journey to Holland, whither he had been pressingly invited. Dober remained behind, as superior elder, to whom, with Anna Nitschman, the church were principally referred. On the day of the Count's departure, he spoke, individually, with upwards of sixty persons, which delayed him until after midnight. He then set out for Budissin, where he overtook the Countess and her company, who had left Herrnhut in the afternoon. He was probably not aware that he should not see his beloved brethren in Herrnhut again for so long a season. However, many things had occurred, from which he might infer, that particular misfortunes awaited him, although their precise nature was not obvious to him. He had a confidential interview, in Budissin, with Count Von Gersdorf, the Lord-Lieutenant of the district, who had paid him a friendly visit at Herrnhut, towards the end of January. This nobleman stated, the next day, to David Nitschman, his belief, that "God had some great purpose in view with Count Zinzendorf, for he had not given him in vain the talents and views which were manifest in him; and that the more he considered the path he was pursuing, the more attached he became to him."

The watch-word for the 13th of February was, "Blessed are ye when men shall hate you, and separate you from their

company," (Luke vi. 22;) and on the 14th, "Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you." (Luke vi. 26.) Upon these passages the Count spoke impressively to the church before his departure, and, after the order for his banishment had been issued, the recollection of them proved beneficial to him.

On his way, he visited his elder brother in Hof, between Meissen and Leipzig; and, in discoursing with him, availed himself of the opportunity to speak upon the blessedness of the children of God. He remained three days in Jena, and not only publicly addressed the awakened students and townspeople, but spoke with almost every one of them in particular. They were all deeply affected, and renewed their determination to be faithful to Jesus. He was there also visited by Count Reuss, and consulted with him, his consort, and Mr. Steinhofer, respecting the little flock in Ebersdorf.

After another address, on free and unconstrained love to the Saviour, he left Jena. On account of the quantity of snow that had fallen, the journey proved a very fatiguing one, and he did not arrive in Amsterdam till the 4th of March.

Soon after his arrival, he hired a house for himself and his family: for he had not only those with him who had accompanied him and the Countess from Herrnhut, together with their eldest daughter, Benigna, but others also arrived from England and Holstein. The Countess, according to her custom, managed the domestic affairs with much fidelity; whilst he acted in his house as he had done at Herrnhut. At eight o'clock in the morning there was a meeting, in which he spoke upon the watch-word for the day. In the twilight of the evening, he held a singing-meeting, and at eleven o'clock closed the day in an edifying manner, with his inmates. He also kept the day appointed for prayer and other meetings as in Herrnhut.

A circumstance of an apparently trivial nature had rendered the Count and the church at Herrnhut well known in Holland. In 1734, I stayed some time in Amsterdam, on my way to America, and inquired of the Surinam Society how they intended to treat the brethren, if any of them should resolve to go to Surinam. The Society knowing little or nothing of the brethren, I was requested to give them a short account of

them, in writing. Isaac Lelong, a learned and very industrious man, had translated my statement into Dutch, and felt impelled to make more minute inquiries into the matter. I frequently conversed with him, and confidentially communicated to him whatever documents I had by me. He copied them all, and subsequently, when others of the brethren arrived in Amsterdam, on their mission to the heathen, he made still further inquiries of them. Not long after, he wrote a book in the Dutch language, entitled, "God's Wonders with his Church," and published every thing which had fallen into his hands. The novelty of the thing caused the book a rapid sale, and produced an extensive correspondence with the Count, from persons of high rank, as well as several preachers. The Dowager-Princess of Orange also wrote to him, respecting many things she had read in Lelong's treatise.

The Count, though conscious the publication was well meant, heartily wished it had been deferred for a time; for the situation of the church was, at that time, so critical, and persons of such importance had set themselves against it, that, according to his views, nothing could be more *mal à propos* than this friendly zeal in commending and applauding the church of the brethren before all the world. He was also of opinion, that such commendations were more injurious to them than the vilest calumnies, and therefore sought, if possible, to prevent the publication of the second part; but the greater part of it being ready, and having been also publicly promised, he had it not in his power to restrain its appearing.

As soon as the Count had provided himself with a lodging, friends with whom he had previously corresponded, and who had occasioned his journey to Amsterdam, came to give him and his company a hearty welcome. They remained during his singing-meeting in the evening; and the next day, when the number assembled was so great that there was scarcely room for them, he availed himself of the opportunity to preach Christ to them: not only preachers of various denominations, but also several magistrates, were present.

Afterwards, when the numbers increased so much, that there was not room enough for them, he was desirous of dividing them, and of preaching at one time to the men, and at another

time to the women, as he afterwards did in Berlin: but, at the very first meeting for the women, many men likewise attended, and wished to be present. This occasioned a concourse of people, which is not uncommon in Amsterdam, as soon as two or three stand in the street together, and express their dissatisfaction or approbation of any thing. To prevent disturbance, the Count went out, closed the door behind him, and addressed the people; telling them that he would gladly have received them, but the place was too small; therefore, if they would return at a certain hour, he would preach to them, &c. This pacified them, and they dispersed. However, he did not think it advisable to continue the meetings; and, as this occurred only a few days before his departure, he consented to speak in several places, where he was requested to do so, in the presence of those who held official situations.

Amongst the friends who invited him in the first instance, and showed their attachment to him, was a reformed preacher, of the name of Van Alphen; in conversation with whom, it was discussed, whether the Count should remain incognito in Holland, or appear under his real name: he chose the latter; and it was afterwards obvious that this was for the best. The following days, he received visits from persons of the highest rank in Amsterdam; but people of the lower class came also to him without hesitation, and he conversed with them as their circumstances required. Those with whom he associated, were not all of the Reformed church, and hence suspicion was excited, lest he should use his influence to strengthen the party of the Prince of Orange, as well as lest he should, by thus associating with people who were not of the Established Church, give more weight to them. He therefore found it necessary to publish a declaration, that he was doing nothing in Amsterdam but what he had for many years been in the habit of doing every where else: at the same time he described the species of intercourse he held with individuals, as well as his domestic meetings in Amsterdam.

When I speak of persons of other religious persuasions, with whom the Count associated in Amsterdam, I have particular reference to the Socinians, both public and private. Of the first description, was Samuel Crellius, known under the name

of Artemonius; respecting whom the Count writes:—"On the 8th of March, old Crellius visited me. The Lord opened my heart towards him, so that I came immediately to the point, and directly told him wherein he was deficient, as well as the living foundation of my own hopes. I told him I was baptized no less in the name of Jesus and of the Holy Spirit, than in that of the Father; and that I was fully assured, that Father, Son, and Spirit, were one God—that worshipping Jesus was true divine worship; and that not worshipping Jesus, was as much as not worshipping God. The humiliating expressions of Jesus were only proofs of his great humility. We then came to speak of his pure humanity, and did not deviate a hair's breadth from what is written. Crellius then told me candidly what he believed; but, from that time, he felt so much confidence towards me, that he continued a regular attendant at my meetings, during the whole time of my residence there, and cherished so much affection towards me and the brethren, that I thought it something very remarkable. He once asked me, if I thought those men were lost who did not believe as I did? I told him, 'that all manner of sin and blasphemy against the Son would be forgiven, but that still it was a blasphemy, and ought not to be persisted in.' In all my meetings, I took the divinity of Jesus, and his vicarious merits, for the theme of my discourses; nor did the various sects in Amsterdam cease to visit them to the last."

This old man at length sought his salvation in the wounds of Jesus. For two years together, he neglected none of the meetings of the brethren in Amsterdam, however unfavourable the weather. He had also decided on going to Herrnhut with his family. However, he was again led into error in consequence of being attacked on that side, where learned men are generally weak. At length, in the year 1746, John Von Wattewille visited him, and had the pleasure of observing that he cordially received all that he said to him. This grace of the Saviour he retained till his end, previously to which he heartily thanked the brethren for the faithfulness they dad manifested towards him.

Amongst the worst Socinians, with whom the Count was also acquainted, I include a part of the Mennonites, amongst whom Socinianism at that time prevailed. Many of them

indeed were scarcely aware that they had fallen into the hands of Socinian teachers, and were thus in danger of being slain whilst asleep. A considerable number experienced great benefit from private intercourse with the Count, or from attending his public meetings; and from that time, many of the preachers of that sect bore a powerful testimony to the divinity of Christ, and the atonement made by his blood.

He likewise entered into intimate connexion with various individuals of the national church (the Reformed). They saw his zeal for the Lord, his love to Jesus Christ, his understanding in the Scriptures, and, notwithstanding the difference existing between them in minor points, became greatly attached to him. He practised, nevertheless, his fundamental maxim, never to profess the truth more pointedly and courageously than in those very places where it was either not known, or else spoken against. Hence, in Holland, he boldly taught the grace of God which hath appeared unto all men—the blood of Christ which is shed for the sin of the world—the will of God, that all men should be saved. But this did not prevent many of all ranks from loving him, who were in other respects cordially attached to the reformed confession.

I must here remark, in general, that there are many intelligent men in Holland and England, who use great modesty when they have to do with those of different religious sentiments; and when they perceive any thing good in them, and especially a cordial love to Jesus Christ, they are not so sectarian as to withdraw themselves from them because they are not of the same persuasion. And this the Count also experienced on the present occasion; whilst he himself became better acquainted with the Reformed church in Holland. He not only found amongst them those who sincerely loved the Lord Jesus, but was convinced, to his great satisfaction, after attending their sermons, that they built every thing upon the grace of God in Christ Jesus, preached the righteousness which is through faith in Christ, and deduced all holiness simply from that source.

With respect to the missions to the heathen, which had partly been the cause of his journey to Holland, he conferred with various individuals who were well disposed, and could

give him the requisite information. He that is acquainted with the Dutch constitution, and particularly with the sentiments of the Dutch trading companies, will easily perceive that it was no easy matter to settle brethren as missionaries amongst the heathen in the Dutch colonies or their vicinity. A favourable opportunity presented itself to the Count of obtaining the best information on the subject. A certain gentleman invited him and the Rev. Mr. Van Alphen to dine with him on board his Greenland ship, in order the more freely to converse upon the point. Vanden Bempden, the Burgomaster of Amsterdam, who was one of the directors both of the East-India Company and the Surinam Society, paid him a visit, and spoke very confidentially with him. And thus he became personally acquainted with several individuals of eminence, with whom he could speak freely respecting the point in question. However, nothing more was done in 1736, than that one brother found an opportunity of proceeding to South Africa, to go amongst the Hottentots, and two others to the coast of Guinea.

Several proposals were also made for an establishment of the brethren in Holland, but none of them entirely satisfied the Count. That which was made by Mr. Van Alphen, in the name of the Dowager-Princess of Orange, respecting the barony of Ysselstein, seemed to him the most feasible. He therefore left Amsterdam on the 26th of March, with two of his friends, to proceed to Ysselstein, in order to investigate the matter still more closely. It was afterwards resolved to purchase a suitable place in the said barony, on the banks of the Yssel, about a mile from Ysselstein. One of the brethren remained there, but the Count returned to Amsterdam the following day. The Princess of Orange, on hearing of it, expressed the great pleasure she would feel in having a Moravian settlement on her domains; and the brethren began to build upon the spot the next year, and called the place Heerendyk. The chief intention of it probably was, that those brethren and sisters who devoted themselves to the missionary service, might have a place in Holland, where they might rest awhile. However, it afterwards furnished the Dutch with an opportunity of seeing with their own eyes, and hearing with

their own ears, which is always the best reply to all the accusations brought against the brethren, which are made probably through ignorance.

The Princess of Orange having invited the Count to visit her at Leuwaarden, he resolved to go thither with a part of his company, but proceeded first to Haarlem, where he visited some of his friends.

The time for his departure from Holland being now arrived, he divided the brethren and sisters whom he had with him. Some remained in Holland, to commence the settlement at Ysselstein; others returned direct to Herrnhut: the rest he took with him to Leuwaarden, from whence he intended to proceed to Herrnhut, for he yet knew nothing of his impending exile. The Countess preceded him to Leuwaarden, where she was very kindly and graciously received by the Princess, whilst he himself first made an excursion to Groningen.

He there became acquainted with several learned men, and amongst others, with two preachers, who pressed him strongly to give them an address. At first he declined it; but on their urging him at least to preach in the church, he accepted the offer, and preached in the afternoon in the Lutheran church, where persons of all persuasions, as well as some of the clergy, were assembled. He spoke upon the words, "My Lord, and my God," with much emotion, and with tears.

On arriving at Leuwaarden, he was immediately requested to take up his abode in the palace, and not to observe incognito whilst there; to both of which he assented.

He remained with the Countess and his daughter, from the 12th to the 16th, at Leuwaarden. The Princess was very glad to see him with her, having known him for seventeen years, and placing much confidence in him. She also said before his arrival, to the Countess, that she would converse very candidly with him on the state of her soul. On the day of his arrival, she afforded him an opportunity of conversing very plainly with her; and continued to do so every day he remained there. The Princess likewise requested him to hold several meetings, at which she herself was present, notwithstanding her indisposition. A clergyman of the place, who preached the gospel in its purity, was also present.

After mature deliberation, the Moravian settlement at Ysselstein was finally resolved upon : but the Count insisted that this new establishment should not be burdensome, either to the Princess or the inhabitants of the barony. He therefore requested, beforehand, that no subscriptions, collections, or any thing of the kind, should be made ; and entreated the Princess to extend her well-known generosity, neither publicly nor privately to the new settlement, which should seek, with the Divine aid, honestly to support itself without being troublesome to any one.

On the 16th they took their departure from Leuwaarden. After travelling a few hours, they overtook a little company, who had preceded them, in order to enjoy their society a little longer. They remained together until the following morning at four o'clock, when they proceeded on their journey, and arrived on the 21st at Cassell. They found there letters from Herrnhut, containing the copy of the order for the Count's banishment from that place : they did not remain there longer than an hour, and then drove to Lichtenau. The Count walked the greatest part of the way, in order to hold converse with his Saviour.

The day following, the Count became fully convinced, in his own heart, that the Lord intended this exile, not as an injury to his cause, but to promote the affairs committed to his charge : assured that the Lord would gather the brethren and sisters to him, whom he had destined for his service, and then his house would become a church of the servants of Christ, and of the pilgrims upon earth. He arrived on the 25th at Ebersdorf, and remained there for a time.

He had been previously met by David Nitschman, who brought him the original order for his banishment from Herrnhut, and came to confer with him upon various matters. He informed him that a Commission would arrive at Herrnhut, with no other intention than to destroy the regulations and institutions there. The Count now perceived that he was purposely banished before the Commission came to Herrnhut. On reading the rescript, he said to Nitschman with great cheerfulness, " I could not have come to Herrnhut, irrespective of this, for the next ten years, to remain there ; for we must now

gather together the pilgrim-church, preach the Saviour to the world," &c. Nitschman wrote down these words at the time, and the result verified them.

With respect to the destruction of the church and establishments at Herrnhut, the Count supposed the Lord might possibly suffer it to come to this. He could give no other advice, than that the brethren should divide themselves hither and thither. This occasioned him great anxiety, both with respect to their spiritual and temporal welfare. He drew up a plan for this purpose, and sent it to the elders and assistants at Herrnhut. But, on the 2d of June, when a conference was appointed to deliberate further on the matter, and the watch-word for the day was referred to, it was found to be, " They need not depart; give ye them to eat," (Matt. xiv. 16;) which they took to imply, that they should continue to provide the community with food both for body and soul as before.

The Count, however, thought it necessary, that the Countess should hasten to Herrnhut, to be present whilst the Commission was being held there. He previously concerted with her to devote her whole property to the affairs of Herrnhut and the support of his family, whilst he himself would receive nothing, and maintain himself as well as he might be able.

But the outward support of his family, and the institutions at Herrnhut, would have been attended with great difficulty, if the Lord, according to his goodness and truth, had not provided for them. The Count himself informs us, that on account of the very heavy debts he had incurred for building and other expenses, which would not have been alleviated during his exile, he should have been driven into great straits, if Providence had not kindly provided for its child. " This happened," says he, " in the following manner:—Matthew Beuning, a man of very peculiar character, but with whom I was at that time very little acquainted, asked me once, quite unexpectedly, if I were in want of money? ' No,' said I. He continued and said, I must not take it amiss, that he inquired still further, since I had to meet such a large outlay, in consequence of residing with my whole suite in foreign countries at my own charge; he therefore asked if I had no pressing debts? I made the same reply. Whether the interest I paid did not

inconvenience me, since I applied the whole of the money I borrowed for others, and never to my own use? I answered, 'Yes.' Whether it would not be an accommodation for me to have the whole of my property funded in Holland, at the customary interest? I replied, that I knew of no one to undertake it, and did not wish to trouble any one. 'Trouble me with it,' said Mr. Beuning, 'I will very willingly procure it.' I accepted the offer, and should have tempted God, had I done otherwise. Thus his unexpected generosity tended to smooth the almost impassable path of suffering, upon which I then entered."

The causes of the Count's banishment from Saxony must not here be omitted. A certain individual, in the neighbourhood of Herrnhut, was induced, by a variety of pretended accusations against the brethren, and especially against the Count, to act the complainant against them, not only in the superior court of Upper Lusatia, but also in the privy council at Dresden. The Count took great pains to inform him better; and not being able to bring him to an interview, wrote him a friendly letter with his own hand. He sent with it his book on "Christian Conversation," but it was returned to him unread, with a hostile reply to his letter. The Count had therefore no other means of undeceiving him; and he persisted in his procedure, until the rescript above mentioned was issued against the Count.

In course of time, however, this gentleman's eyes were opened, and he perceived that he had acted wrong, especially towards Count Zinzendorf. This conviction was increased by a variety of circumstances. At length, a fire consumed the whole of his outhouses, and greatly injured his dwelling-house. It was remarkable, that on collecting his scattered things again after this great misfortune, the Count's letter was the first thing that fell into his hands, burnt in one place, but the writing unconsumed. From that time, this gentleman had no longer any peace of mind, until he should have fully compensated for the injury done the Count, and soon after experienced the pleasure of seeing his wishes fulfilled, and that his ardent prayers to God on that account were heard. He travelled to Herrnhut, had a comfortable interview with the Count, and asked his

forgiveness for all that he had done in his heat against him; at the same time handing him the burnt letter, as a striking proof of the Divine intentions, which had changed the fire of wrath into a flame of love. This occurred in the year 1755; after which, this gentleman continued to cherish the tenderest affection for the Count until his end, cordially loved the brethren, and set a good example to his vassals of an active profession of religion. He was also highly gratified whenever he heard of the extension of the kingdom of Jesus Christ in his place of residence and its vicinity, and in contributing any thing towards the promotion of it.

Besides this immediate cause, the reception of the Moravian and Bohemian exiles was unquestionably a remote occasion of the Count's exile. The order for it having been sent him through the medium of Count Von Gersdorf, he replied first of all to him, informing him that he submitted to the king's command; stating, however, that since the decree of 1733, in which he was again permitted to reside with his family, he had neither been examined nor reproved for any thing laid to his charge, nor had been heard in his defence. At the same time, he requested the Lieutenant of the district to procure him at least a short time in which he might arrange his affairs, and retire from his estates, so as to cause as little sensation as possible.

He also wrote a very submissive letter to the king, dated from Köenigsberg, 18th October, 1736, which concludes with the following words:—"Should your royal Majesty and Electoral Highness condescend so far as to institute a minute inquiry into my conduct in your Majesty's territories, which I have so ardently desired for several years, and have most humbly entreated of your Majesty for upwards of a year,—my consolation would be so much the greater, and I would duly thank God and your Majesty for it. I now wander about in uncertainty, without any abiding home: however, I will not murmur at my situation, but endeavour, both now and in future, to obey your Majesty's orders with the most profound respect and resignation."

Although it was no trifling matter to him to leave his dear Herrnhut, yet the Saviour granted him grace to be cheerful

and of good courage even in his exile. His chief ideas with respect to this were, "If a person thinks within himself, 'I will die in my nest,' such a thought proceeds from self-love, and may exercise an influence over his whole life, and render him the slave of his self-will and his attachment to his home, so that he is restrained in all that he undertakes." "A man's happiness depends not upon the place where he resides, but upon the felicity he carries about with him in his heart." "That place becomes our home, where the most is to be effected for the Saviour at the time."

God caused much good to result from this affair, both as respected his church and many thousand souls; although it was intended to produce the contrary effect by its authors: for the Count's exile gave occasion to bring to remembrance the gospel of Christ and his cross, in many countries, where it had unhappily sunk almost into oblivion.

His state of pilgrimage commenced with this exile, and only terminated with his life. He had, indeed, been always inclined to part with every thing for Jesus and the gospel's sake, and at his beck to go to any part of the world: nor was this a mere intention, since he had already taken many journeys, at much inconvenience, from attachment to Christ and his service. But now, by his exile, he assumed much more the character of a messenger and a pilgrim, and became more assured in his heart of its being the Lord's will, that he should employ himself in his service as a pilgrim upon earth, wherever opportunity presented itself.

From that time, a company of pilgrims always assembled around him: for wherever he was, the brethren and sisters who were employed in the Lord's service, generally made his house their home. When they returned to their destined stations, they conferred with him, and were accompanied by the blessing of the church, in his house. If he changed his residence, the brethren above mentioned generally accompanied him: and thus himself and his inmates were literally strangers and pilgrims upon earth, according to the expression of the apostle.

He acted then as the father of the family, and provided for its necessities, not only according to, but even beyond his

ability. His consort also arranged every thing so wisely, that much was accomplished with little; and thus they were at least able to live like pilgrims. He that had any thing of his own, procured clothing, &c. for himself; but he that had nothing, was provided for as well as they were able.

He regulated his household, with regard to spiritual things, as a regular church. Meetings were daily held in his house, in which they edified one another with singing and praying, and with the word of God. Sundays, holidays, sacraments, and all that the Lord Jesus has instituted for the benefit of his people, were gratefully made use of. The church in the Count's house was only different from other churches in this respect; that in the former, whole days, and even weeks, were spent in deliberating upon the things concerning the kingdom of Christ. The correspondence was extensive, the visits from other places numerous, and the labours amongst Christians and heathen increasingly multifarious.

The Commission in Herrnhut troubled the Count more because he could not be present at it, than if he had even been there: but the Lord, to whom he so earnestly commended the matter, so overruled it, that the whole affair proved a blessing to the church. It was remarkable, that the Countess arrived safely at Herrnhut, the day before the Commission was opened. The four Commissioners appeared there on the 9th of May, and remained till the 18th.

During the whole of this time, every thing proceeded in its regular course, without the slightest variation. The watch-words from the commencement of May, and during the whole time of the Commission, were very instructive and consolatory to the church. On the day when the Commissioners arrived, the watch-word was, "Whosoever confesseth me before men, him will I confess before my heavenly Father." The church anticipated the arrival of the Commission with pleasure, and regarded it as a favour to be examined by it, with reference to the accusations brought against them.

During the examination, the members of the church spoke from the sincerity of their hearts; for when the elders and assistants deliberated with each other, whether they should confer with the church upon any matter which might probably

come before the Commission, they were unanimously of opinion, to put words into no one's mouth, but leave every thing simply to the Lord's direction. They regarded it as contrary to conscience, to concede any thing at a time when they were *in statu confessionis*, or to aid themselves by explanations. It was the wish of their hearts, that their whole intentions and institutions should be laid open to the constituted authorities: they were unconcerned respecting the result, and committed it to God.

The Count also, though he thought it his duty, as superintendent of the church in Herrnhut, to undertake their cause, particularly at a time when it was in trouble, refrained, notwithstanding, from giving any written instructions respecting how they were to act towards the Commission, in order that it might not seem as if he would help the brethren, instead of committing them to the Spirit of grace, who has promised to be especially operative on such occasions.

The Commissioners therefore found no difficulty in ascertaining the real state of the case. Hence they bore this public testimony to the church, on their departure: "You have acted like honest people, and have honourably stood the test." But notwithstanding this, no resolution was issued upon this minute investigation, until fifteen months afterwards.

From Ulstedt, whither he had proceeded from Ebersdorf, on a visit to Madam Von Schwarzenfels, he travelled to Frankfort-on-the-Mayne, of which he says, in a letter, "I arrived there on my birth-day (the 26th of May), early in the morning, whilst engaged in fervent supplications to the Saviour, and spent the day in retirement and prayer, that the Lord would assist me on every occasion during the year; and also opened my heart to him in a hymn which I composed. Torn from my people, in the company of a younger brother, I reflected on my arrival in Upper Lusatia, twenty years before, and was much encouraged by a retrospect of the Lord's guidance during that period. On the 28th, I had many visits from the clergy, the separatists, and those of the national church. I held a meeting for the latter: amongst the visiters, was a very worthy and aged Burgomaster, of the name of Eberhardt, and an old Israelite, who, like Simeon, is waiting for the salvation

of Israel. On the 29th, my dear family arrived, at ten in the morning, from Ulstedt. Many offers were made to me with respect to Hanau, Hesse, &c.: but I could not listen to any of them."

The Count, after this, visited Baron Von Schrautenbach, at Lindheim, who had sent him a friendly invitation, and spent a few days there in retirement. Meanwhile, the Countess, with the rest of his children, and the brethren and sisters who waited upon them, Christian David and Leonard Dober, with others of his fellow-labourers in the ministry of our Lord Jesus Christ, also resorted to him.

Amongst the various offers which were made to him as residences for himself and those that were with him, he was best pleased with the proposal of inhabiting the old mansion of Ronneburg, belonging to the Count of Isenburg-Wäechtersbach, because a number of poor and wretched people resided there, whom he wished to gain for Christ. Christian David went thither for the purpose of inspecting it, but returned with the answer, that the Count could not possibly reside there. The Count said to him, "Christian, hast thou not been in Greenland?" "Yes," said he, "if it were only as good as we had it in Greenland! but thither you cannot go; it would be the death of you." The Count, however, who cared nothing for convenience and days of ease, but only where he might find something to do for the Saviour, had a great desire, notwithstanding, to remove to Ronneburg, for the reason above mentioned.

On the 12th of June, the Count went privately thither himself, arranged every thing for his occupation of it, found many things much better than he had expected, and thanked the Lord for his faithful guidance. He writes as follows, respecting it:—"I brought thither a contented heart, conscious of its Saviour's favour; for I had acted according to his gracious will. The mansion itself is sumptuous, but desolate, like the palaces against which woes were denounced by the prophets. I finished, the same day, the little hymn-book for pilgrims, and felt it to be a happy day."

He then caused the necessary preparations to be made, and afterwards removed thither himself. On Sunday, the 17th of

June, he began to preach, and expounded the gospel of the lost sheep and the piece of silver; and spoke, in the afternoon, on those words: "Then shall we know, even as we are known." .... "It being precisely fourteen years since the commencement of the building of Herrnhut, we held a meeting for thanksgiving and singing, in which we resolved to take spiritual charge of all the inhabitants of Ronneburg. They thanked us heartily, and were all much affected—Christians of every creed, as well as Jews and infidels."

After the arrival of his son and daughter, and a tolerable number of brethren and sisters, he cheerfully began the pastoral care of the poor inhabitants of the place.

But even there he was not without his trials; for when the gospel began to manifest its power, and was well received by many, there were not wanting those who were opposed to the doctrine, that every thing depends on the merits and sufferings of Christ. There were also those who, from other motives, could not endure the meetings, on which the Lord vouchsafed his blessing, pretending that it might be offensive to the government, and believing that they had a right to restrain the Count. He therefore explained himself upon the subject in a letter, in which he says: "It was for the sake of the poor and the needy that I came to reside at Ronneburg, and for the purpose of imparting to them the knowledge of Christ, for the salvation of their souls, according to the method I have adopted for many years. If I am hindered in this, I shall regard it as something intolerable: and as I have forced my way for more than ten years, and, after surmounting every difficulty, have now arrived at an open space, I will not let myself be prevented here, but hazard every thing for the attainment of this object; for the extent of my sympathy and compassion for the souls of men, and my love to the Saviour is such, that it is apparent to every one what I have sacrificed in this respect; and even this is a small thing; for I am ready to hazard my life upon it."*

* There being many poor people resident in the village, who had many children, he interested himself for them; and, first of all, invited the poor boys to dine with his son, the young Count, and afterwards the poor girls to dine with the young Countess. School was also kept for the boys in the forenoon, and the girls in the afternoon. And because these poor children

In consequence of cordial and pressing invitations, the Count set out, on the 27th of July, on a journey to Livonia. In Magdeburg he visited Abbot Steinmetz, by whom he was very kindly received, and, after much conversation, they parted from each other with great affection. In Berlin, he visited his step-father, Field-marshal Von Nazmer, and the Countess, his mother. Respecting his residence there, he writes, "Every thing goes on prosperously here. My mother seems happier than I have seen her for many years. The Deans, Rolof and Karstädt, have visited me, and Court-chaplain Jablonsky was with me every day. I also conferred with the brethren from Herrnhut, on the affairs of the church there: but those who had spoken in Berlin, of that whereof they were ignorant, were put to shame."

He proceeded from Berlin to Köenigsberg, respecting which he writes, "I have had more intercourse with the Saviour, on this journey, than ever, and regard it as the happiest of my life. My hunger after him has been in some measure satisfied."

He only remained two days in Köenigsberg, which he spent in retirement; and, on the 1st of September, proceeded on his journey to Riga, where he arrived on the 8th. "All the way to Riga," says he, "I swam in peace and joy in the Lord, and walked on the shores of the Baltic with a delighted heart. To spend so many days with the Saviour, without interruption, is a great favour, and almost renders us unfit for any other society."

His arrival in Riga was not unexpected, and he was made heartily welcome by his friends. He was entreated to preach, on Sunday, the 9th of September, even by the superintendent-general himself; but, as far as the author knows, declined it for that time. He did not stay long in Riga; for the lady of General Hallartin requested him to come to Wolmarshof, and had already ordered post-horses for him all the way. In Orel he saw General Von Campenhausen and his consort, and became acquainted also with Major Von Albedyl, one of the

went out to beg every Tuesday and Friday, the Count forbad it, and distributed bread amongst them on those days, and something for clothing.

Swedish officers, who, during their captivity in Siberia, usefully employed themselves in the instruction of the children at Tobolsk. The Count was received in Wolmarshof with distinguished affection, as a servant of Jesus, who was privileged with suffering for his sake. The General's lady, whose heart longed for the salvation of Lithuania, (as the Count said of her,) received many visits whilst he was in her house; and frequent opportunities were afforded him of bearing testimony to the truth as it is in Jesus. On the 17th of September, he took his departure for Revel, and arrived there on the 20th.

In Revel, he became acquainted with several of the clergy, one of whom preached the atonement zealously and powerfully, and this was also the chief subject of the Count's discourses. He was likewise so full of hope that these would not be in vain, that he said, "Revel has richly rewarded me for the whole of my journey to Livonia." "The superintendent directly invited me to preach in the church of St. Olave, and I did not feel at liberty to refuse him. . . The Lord is increasingly with me in my labours."

Many persons of rank were uncommonly attached to him, and reflected whether there were no means of retaining him in the country. He was also urgently requested to preach in the cathedral church on the following Wednesday. He did so, and took for his text, "I thank Christ Jesus our Lord, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry." (1 Tim. i. 12.) The cathedral was uncommonly full of persons of all classes, and the people said, "If all sermons were like this, all men would be converted."

His successful efforts in favour of the printing of the Esthonian Bible, for which the money could not before be raised, deserve to be mentioned here. In a conversation with the members of the Consistory, he proposed to make a voluntary collection by subscription, and immediately wrote a suitable address for it. The subscription accordingly commenced amongst the friends who were present, and even before his departure from Livonia a considerable sum was collected. This version of the Bible left the press in 1739, and became a great blessing to the Esthonians.

From Revel he returned to Riga, by way of Wolmarshof

and Orellen. On arriving in the town at six o'clock on the Sunday morning, just in time for the early service, he was immediately requested by the superintendent-general to preach, because it was supposed he would not spend another Sunday there. He accepted the offer, and this dignitary privately sent word to the Governor-general, who entered the church with several officers, after the sermon was commenced: this was on the 30th of September. On the 4th and 7th October, he preached again, when the first people in the town came together to hear him, and confessed that what he stated was the truth.

Providence also rendered the Count instrumental in promoting the printing of the Lettonian Bible, which was happily accomplished by the superintendent-general, the Rev. Dr. Fischer.

The Count found letters waiting for him, in Riga, from his consort, which informed him of various painful circumstances which had occurred at the Ronneburg, and especially of the decease of his son, Christian Louis.

The results of his journey to Livonia were summarily as follows:—

He had there an opportunity of explaining his real sentiments to those who were at the head of the church in Livonia; for they did not neglect to hear him themselves, and afterwards affirmed, that they had nothing to object to them. Several of them even fell upon his neck, and made this confession with a deeply affected heart, and with many tears. This was the more remarkable, since his adversaries had laboured, by letters, which were much to his prejudice, and of which he did not remain ignorant, whilst in that country, to excite them to the utmost against him.

A chief object which the Count had in view, was private intercourse with those preachers in Livonia, who were desirous of doing good, both among the Germans and Swedes, as well as the Esthonians and Lettonians. In these conversations, doctrines were not the only things considered, but the work of grace in the heart, and the Lord added his blessing to them. The Count also particularly recommended to the preachers, Spener's wise idea *de Ecclesiolis in Ecclesia.*

Opportunity having been afforded him of becoming well

acquainted with Livonia, he soon perceived there was a want of those who preached Jesus Christ with a warm heart, to the inhabitants of Esthonia and Lettonia, and who were able to treat them in a very simple manner, and according to circumstances. Hence, he considered whether a seminary could not be formed for the instruction of such of the Lettonians as showed much talent and ability, so that good schoolmasters might be made of them. Able men being required for this purpose, the Count, after his return, sought to procure them, and succeeded so well, that his plan was not only carried into effect, but an extensive awakening also took place. Besides this, many of the nobility and clergy requested of him preceptors for their children, and assistants in the schools and churches, and the Count was enabled to comply with their wishes.

On his return from Riga, he wrote from Memel, on the 15th October, to the king of Prussia, respecting the affairs of the people of Salzburg. He made some little stay in Königsberg, where Andrew Grasman, who had proceeded on a mission to the heathen in Lapland, had arrived, in order to see the Count, and confer with him upon his labours. The latter also held a meeting, by request, in the Frederician college.

In travelling from Königsberg to Berlin, he passed through Stolpe, in Pomerania, where he preached from the words, "Who forgiveth all our iniquities;" and spoke in particular upon sanctification through grace. "There were faithful people here," says he, "but they idolized me so much, that I could scarcely bear to spend four hours with them, before I took my departure."

On his arrival at Berlin, on the 25th October, he received a letter in the handwriting of the king of Prussia, and was soon visited by Jablonsky, who showed him another, requesting him to invite Count Zinzendorf to Wusterhausen.

The Count says, "I was glad of this, because I knew the king took me to be a half ridiculous, half dangerous individual; and expected that the next thing would be a dismissal for a season from his territories, which at that time I was not disinclined to prevent."

He therefore drove immediately to Wusterhausen, and notified his arrival the same evening. The next morning, Privy-

Counsellor Schumacher came and conducted him to the king.

The idea which the king had formed of him ten years before, that he was either a merry or a melancholy fanatic, and which he had expressed regarding him in a numerous company, seemed during the first minutes of conversation to have some influence upon him. But when the king saw that he had to do with an intelligent man, he felt induced to devote three whole days to conversation with him. There was little which had been laid to the Count's charge, respecting which the king did not interrogate him. However, not the slightest allusion was made to his exile. "Our sovereign," says the Count, "was occasionally spoken of with great esteem; and the king knows no other, than that we are leading a quiet and peaceful life under our most gracious monarch."

The result was, that the king publicly expressed himself as follows, respecting the vile reports he had heard concerning the Count: "The devil in hell could not have fabricated worse lies." The Count relates, respecting a conversation had with his Majesty at the palace of Wusterhausen, in the presence of many persons:—"After his Majesty had given me a general gracious reception, and made a few particular inquiries, with my answers to which he seemed satisfied; he at length asked me, point blank, 'Why I was so traduced, if my real sentiments were those I then expressed?' I replied, that I knew a few reasons for it, and God probably knew more. The first was, my uncommon mode of life, in which there was apparently much that was contradictory. The second was, a fondness for criticizing, which assaulted me much in my younger years, the painful consequences of which now showed themselves; for after I had given up attending to others, other people now gave themselves more trouble about me than they needed. The third was, my condescension and friendly deportment towards every one, especially towards those with whom the usual arguments and method of treatment are unavailing, but who are in other respects docile; as well as towards those who were really in error, and hence were not treated with sufficient humanity by those who either possessed the truth, or pretended to possess it. My adversaries misconstrued this

condescension, and attempted to confound me with such like individuals. His Majesty found these reasons very natural."

He adds respecting these conversations, "The king spoke, the first day, very coolly, yet profoundly, with me; the second, candidly and confidentially; but, on the third, he declared, in the presence of the whole court, that he had been misinformed and deceived with respect to me; that I ought not to be suspected either of heresy or disloyalty; that my only sin was, that being a Count, and a man who was looked up to in the world, I had devoted myself entirely to the ministry of the gospel. He assured me of his affection, his complete confidence, and that he would believe nothing more against me, but serve me wherever he was able."

If the question be asked, whether the king was sufficiently acquainted with the charges brought against the Count? we can unhesitatingly reply in the affirmative: for there were those who, for more than ten years, had made it their peculiar business to bring before the king the most horrible accusations against him, both verbally and in writing; nor did they omit to lay before his Majesty the most envenomed libels against him and the brethren. From the circumstance of the conversation having lasted three days, it may be clearly inferred how multifarious must have been the insinuations by which they sought to prejudice the king against him.

After these conversations with the Count, the king wrote to Jablonsky the two following letters:—

"Having now seen and spoken with Count Zinzendorf myself, and found him to be an honest and intelligent man, whose only intentions are to promote true and real religion, and the salutary doctrine of the word of God, it is my will, that when you speak with him in Berlin, you discuss those points with him which he has to propose, and afterwards furnish me with your report upon them, according to the letter of this day's date to you on the subject.

"Your well-affectioned king,

"Frederic William."

"From your statement of 30th October, I have seen what has transpired in your conference with Count Zinzendorf.

With regard to the examination of his orthodoxy and religious sentiments, I have, for certain reasons, intrusted it to the two deans of Berlin. If their testimony, as I hope, should prove favourable, you can ordain him at his desire, because I am myself of opinion that the ministerial profession is worthy of all honour, and degrades no one.

"Your well-affectioned king,

"Fr. W."

The royal rescript was directed to the Deans Reinbek and Rolof, and stated, that as Count Zinzendorf, in order to rescue his suspected orthodoxy and good name, had himself requested to be examined by divines appointed for the purpose; and as they, the deans, were able to investigate the matter impartially, and in a manner becoming true religion, they were instructed to undertake the examination, and provide his Majesty with an authentic and complete account, but not make it a matter of notoriety.

The Count, accordingly, sent the deans above mentioned a great number of documents on both sides of the question, accompanied by a note, in which he briefly stated the cause of his being so ardently desirous of another examination.

The Count, after conferring upon all that was necessary with Mr. Jablonsky, prepared for his departure to Wetteravia. The king gave him a letter to Count Degenfeld, his ambassador to the circle of the Upper Rhine, stating, "That having become personally acquainted with Count Zinzendorf, and fully persuaded of his good sentiments and intentions, and as the latter possessed certain institutions in Wetteravia—the ambassador should afford the Count all the assistance in his power."

The Count hastened to the Ronneburg, which he reached on the 7th of November; but found that the Countess had already taken her departure, to which she had been induced by the opposition raised against the Count's labours amongst the poor, at a time when her youngest daughter lay so ill, that her dissolution was expected every hour. They first proceeded to Lindheim, and were received with great kindness by Baron Von Schrautenbach; but afterwards resolved to fix their tem-

porary residence at Frankfort, which they did on the 15th of October. There she established herself with her family in a very retired manner; but, in a few days, many people came, and requested that another meeting might be held.

The circumstances, however, in which the Count was placed, caused him much anxiety. He would gladly have limited the meetings in his own house to its inmates; but the Director of the Consistory gave him verbally to understand, that he would not be able to hold family worship with his household, unless he had so much consideration for the common people as to admit any one that came. He accordingly did so, and made it public.

But in order to avoid all misunderstanding, he notified the matter, a short time after his arrival in Frankfort, to the magistrate, who sent a syndic to communicate with him. He states, respecting the magistrate, that "he had treated the work of the Saviour with much gentleness, wisdom, and patience."

He also became acquainted with the clergy of Frankfort, who visited him, and showed him much kindness. His meetings were attended both by Lutherans and Separatists, and he gave himself much trouble to divest the latter of their scruples against the church. The consequence was, that three of them, who had become dissatisfied with their previous course, attained to a heartfelt conviction of the doctrine of the atonement through the blood of the Lamb. The Count's object in his labours in Frankfort was not only to awaken individuals from the sleep of sin, but also to unite those whom the Lord had thus awakened, or edified by the word from his lips, in brotherly love and attention to each other.

The Count, now seeing that the Lord was with him, and having a divine assurance in his heart, that God would further bless his ministry, thought it necessary to come to a still more thorough understanding with the brethren, who were his immediate assistants, and unite himself still more closely to them. To this end, he appointed a synod, which was opened on the 6th of December, and closed on the 9th. His cousin, the Count of Isenburg-Meerholz, at his request, very generously granted him his seat, called Marienborn, about seven or eight

leagues from Frankfort, for this purpose. At this synod, all those persons were present, who had an influence in the affairs of the brethren: the time for it was short, but well applied; and they sat in close conference from early in the morning till late at night. The brethren, first of all, cleared away every thing that might prove a hinderance to their object, and candidly told each other what they thought still stood in the Saviour's way with respect to each. They then renewed their covenant, not to follow their own, but the Lord's will, with all fidelity, as the basis of their fellowship. The promise was fulfilled, that where two or three are met together in the Saviour's name, he will be in the midst of them. He blessed them with a sense of his presence, and, by his aid, they not only obtained a clear insight into many important matters, but also a certainty respecting his will. The consciousness of his favour gave them confidence, and a filial hope of the cooperation of his Spirit, to enable them to commence the work with joy, and to act with unanimity. The Count deduced all that was done in several successive years, from the synod held at Marienborn.

Towards the end of the year, the Count resolved upon a voyage to England, in order both to communicate with the Directors of the Colonies, and to obtain information from the church of England, with reference to the Moravian episcopacy, respecting which the king of Prussia had spoken with him. But before commencing this journey, he sent his son, Christian Renatus, to Jena, under the care of John Nitschman the elder, in doing which he had not only the education of the former in view, but also the edification of the students and townspeople, amongst whom a great awakening had taken place. Several brethren and sisters, as well as the young Countess Benigna, returned from Frankfort to Herrnhut, with the elders of the church, who had been called to the synod at Marienborn. The Count himself, the Countess, Baron Von Wattewille, and others, arrived before the end of the year in Holland.

In a letter from the Count to the author, at the close of this year, he thus expresses himself:—"The Saviour has pleasingly let me feel this year what poverty is . . . . I have evidently seen, that my faithful friend has often purposely placed me in

circumstances of this nature, that I might experience what I filially desired on the 7th of November:—'Joy in poverty and shame.' We have lived this year chiefly upon the sale of our ornaments, gold and silver. However, the Countess could not avoid making some debts, in order to supply our necessities."

At the same time, it must not be forgotten, that he also experienced very many proofs of the gracious and paternal providence of God.

In Amsterdam, the Count found opportunity of preaching Christ in the meetings, which he held, both in Dutch and German.

After completing the collection of Daily Texts or Watchwords for 1737, he went with Mr. Van Alphen to Utrecht, and from thence to Ysselstein. He found the brethren, who were to settle there, already in possession of the piece of land, bought for that purpose, and joined with them in singing the watch-word of the day, with the collect.

The magistrate of the district, whom he visited, promised to do all in his power to serve them, not only from attachment to the Princess of Orange, but also for conscience' sake. Baron Von Wattewille proceeded to Leuwaarden, in order to speak with the Princess upon the subject. Meanwhile, the Count went to the Hague, waited upon the Prince of Orange, and had also a friendly interview with the Marquis of Fenelon, the French ambassador.

He then prepared for his voyage to England. The king of Prussia had reminded him, in a very gracious letter, of his intended ordination; but deeming it necessary, first, to make all due inquiry on the subject in England, he wrote to his Majesty, and besought him to excuse the delay. He afterwards proceeded to Helvoetsluys, and sailed on the 14th of January, 1737, for Harwich. The passage was a very unpleasant one, since he was obliged to pass three days and four nights at sea, in very boisterous weather. Whilst the danger lasted, he had no assurance in his heart that he would survive it; but resigned himself filially to the Lord's will.

He arrived safely in London on the 20th. He there found letters lying with a couple of merchants, who had shown great kindness to the brethren who had gone to Georgia, from the missionaries in St. Thomas, informing him, that several of their number had departed this life, and also, that through the preaching of the gospel, a great awakening had taken place amongst the negro slaves upon the island.

General Oglethorpe, who had previously corresponded with the Count, arrived at the same time from his expedition to Georgia. When the Count visited him, on the 22d of January, after a friendly invitation, he found him very communicative and confidential, so that he continued in conversation with him till two o'clock, and spent the night at his house.

The Countess and Bishop Nitschman, who with their suite had gone by way of Calais, also arrived safely in London, to his no small joy.

The news from St. Thomas caused the Count both sorrow and joy; for he found that as many of the poor negroes had been brought to believe in Jesus Christ, and become partakers of spiritual life, as the number of missionaries amounted to, who had lost their lives in the cause.

He therefore deemed it necessary that the missionary, Frederick Martin, who had been made so useful in the conversion of the negroes, should be soon ordained, in order not to neglect the season of the divine visitation, that he might perform amongst them all the functions of a regular preacher of the gospel. But, because Bishop Nitschman was unable immediately to undertake the voyage to St. Thomas, intending to visit the colony in Georgia, it was discussed, whether Martin could not be ordained by writing. The belief was found not inconsistent with Scripture, that the Spirit of the Apostles, where the body could not be present, was present in the churches to bind, loose, and bless; and there were also examples of the same thing having been done in the Protestant church: hence it was decided to have recourse to it in this instance, which was accordingly done by Bishop Nitschman.

Having resolved to confer with the trustees, for establishing the colony of Georgia, in North America, with reference to the settlement of the brethren there, a most favourable oppor-

tunity was afforded for it, by the return of Andrew Dober, from Georgia, just at the time of the Count's arrival in England, who brought him letters and verbal intelligence from thence. The brethren in Georgia were in good credit with the trustees, as quiet, regular, industrious, and religious people. They were also aware that the object of the brethren was not so much temporal advantage, as the conversion of the heathen, and perceived how much the state would be benefited, if Christ were preached among the heathenish Indians; in order that they might be brought from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God.

It was much wished at that time, by many intelligent and religious men in England, that the poor negro slaves in South Carolina should be instructed in the doctrines of Christianity. This was especially the object of a Society which termed itself "The Associates of the late Dr. Bray for instructing the Negroes of the British Plantations." The greater part of these gentlemen being at the same time trustees for Georgia, who thought favourably of the brethren, a question arose, whether the latter could not be beneficially employed for the attainment of their object. They therefore resolved, after conferring with the Count, to inquire of the archbishop of Canterbury, whether it would not be desirable to employ some of the Moravian brethren for the instruction of the negroes in Carolina in the Christian religion. General Oglethorpe and Dr. J. Burton were therefore deputed to wait upon the archbishop of Canterbury, whose report to their constituents states, "That His Grace had been for some time acquainted with the Moravian church through the medium of the public prints,—that it was apostolic and episcopal, and maintained no tenet that was opposed to the Thirty-Nine Articles; and that he was still more strengthened in this opinion of them by the conferences which he had lately held with Count Zinzendorf."

The mission to the heathen, as far as respects the English provinces, being thus divested of difficulty, the Count did not neglect to confer thoroughly with that great man, Archbishop Potter, on the subject of the Moravian church; I call him great, not merely because of the important office he filled, but because he was in reality a very estimable and venerable

prelate. He was a man of uncommon research, especially in ecclesiastical history, kind, open-hearted, and very condescending in conversation; and esteemed simplicity in Christ above every thing the world calls great. He was a friend, not only of the Moravian church in general, but also of those brethren especially with whom he became personally acquainted, and was particularly attached to the Count.

From a conversation with the archbishop on the subject above mentioned, the particulars of which appeared in print, it is very evident that the archbishop had as little to object to the doctrine, as to the constitution of the Moravian church; and that he believed no Englishman, who understood church history, could doubt of the episcopal succession in that church. He also stated, "That though he could not speak in the name of the church of England, as long as the king himself did not signify his concurrence: yet, with respect to himself, he felt impelled to confess this for the truth's sake, although he might draw down sufferings upon himself by so doing." These sentiments he frequently repeated, both verbally and in writing, and continued in them till his end.

Several persons attended the Count's domestic worship, which were rendered a blessing to themselves and others. Hence a little flock was formed, who, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, united in cleaving to him, in simplicity of heart, and agreed to certain points drawn up by the Count, to which they attached their signatures. These points were,—

1. We will believe and practise only what is clearly expressed in the Holy Scriptures; and this we will believe and teach, whether it accords with our reason and ideas or not.

2. We will converse and associate with each other in a simple and childlike manner, and assemble once a week for that purpose; on which occasion we will merely pray, read the Scriptures, and edify ourselves from them, without bringing forward the smallest thing which might occasion dispute and variance.

3. We will sincerely speak what we think of each other, and not seek to conceal our faults, that no one may think more highly of the other than he deserves.

4. We will serve each other according to the gifts we pos-

sess, and quietly prepare ourselves for promoting the Lord's cause amongst others.

5. We will not interfere in any religious or ecclesiastical matters, but only attend to three simple things:—to become saved and sanctified by the blood of Jesus, and to love each other cordially.

During his short residence in England, the Count became intimately acquainted with some of the people called Quakers. This was particularly the case with one of them of the name of Josias Martin, a learned man, who induced him to write a treatise in French, which contained an historical account of the brethren; but which, to the best of my knowledge, never appeared in print. I myself became personally acquainted with Martin, and know that the trouble which the Count took with him was not in vain.

On this occasion he was also made acquainted with the Rev. Charles Wesley, one of the people called Methodists. An intimacy subsequently existed between the brethren and the Methodists, which was maintained for a time, in hopes that it might prove beneficial. There were, at that time, many who eagerly received the preaching of the grace of God in Christ Jesus, and reconciliation through his blood, and joined themselves to the brethren. The latter also took an interest in them, and formed such regulations for them as might promote their edification without disturbing their connexion with the church of England. Several of the Methodists also adhered to them; and even John and Charles Wesley, as they afterwards confessed, derived benefit from their intercourse with the brethren. I also know, respecting Mr. Whitefield, that associating with the brethren, and especially with Peter Böhler, had contributed much to his spiritual edification.

Afterwards, a separation took place between the two Wesleys and George Whitefield. The former, who had till that time been in connexion with the brethren, detached themselves entirely from them, and declared themselves, in a harsh manner, against them.

The Moravians in England were therefore left to themselves; but from the Methodists there sprang two numerous religious bodies, of which Whitefield was at the head of one, and John Wesley of the other.

The Count did not refrain from stating to them what he found objectionable in both: nor did he wish that the Moravians and the Methodists should be looked upon as one body; and openly expressed his sentiments to that effect. He did not find fault with their preaching in the market-places, streets, and fields, although he differed in opinion from them in that respect; it was to their doctrine that he chiefly objected.

Wesley, on the other hand, declared himself, both in word and writing, against the brethren, and, in particular, against the Count. His chief accusation was, that they blindly followed Luther, and this he regarded as the source of their fundamental errors. But Whitefield, who remained a longer time on terms of friendship, and even requested the brethren to aid him in his Orphan-house in Georgia, (for which purpose a brother of the name of Hagen was sent thither,) likewise gradually drew back from the brethren, and at last published a letter full of grievous charges against the Count, at a time when all were against them.

Lord Granville, the President of His Britannic Majesty's Privy Council, sent word to the Count, who was then residing at Lindsey House, in the neighbourhood of London, "That he would do well to bring an action against Whitefield, who was punishable according to English laws." But the Count, in a letter to Lord Granville, declared, "That he could not resolve upon doing so; for if he had been disposed to act thus with some of his opponents, who barefacedly publish to the world whatever comes into their mind, he might have ruined many. But he was a servant of Jesus Christ, who looked at the example of his Master; and hence had no wish to avert, by the aid of the magistracy, the sufferings which might be impending over him. Mr. Whitefield was a man who was still listened to with benefit by many; and, on this account, he would not even write any thing that might destroy his reputation." And there the matter rested.

The Count also became personally acquainted with several English noblemen, and had much intercourse with many of the clergy, and the Lutheran ministers.

After the Associates for the Instruction of the Negro Slaves

in the British Colonies had conferred with him, by means of a deputation, respecting a mission to the slaves in South Carolina, it was agreed that the Count should send a missionary thither.

Though many difficulties of a serious nature presented themselves during the Count's stay in London, yet he likewise experienced the faithful, gracious, and special superintendence of the Lord Jesus Christ.

He left London on the 6th of March, for Rotterdam, where he safely arrived on the 9th.

He did not remain long in Holland on this occasion, but, on the 22d of March, set out again on his way to Germany; however, during the time of his stay there, he was particularly animated, and caused much joy and edification to his friends and brethren, to whom he manifested his tender affection.

A little flock of awakened souls in Amsterdam, who esteemed themselves under obligation to edify one another, entered into a covenant of mutual brotherly love. Several ministers in Amsterdam, who were solicitous for their own edification as well as that of others, took great interest in it. The Count, regarding these ministers as faithful servants of Jesus Christ, recommended the association to avail themselves of their advice in every circumstance. In this he went so far, that he did not willingly converse with any of its members, unless one of their preachers was present.

After a safe, but fatiguing journey, the Count arrived, on the 26th of March, amongst the brethren at Frankfort. He found that their labours, for the good of souls, had been continued in his absence with much success; but that the day before his arrival, the magistrates, in consequence of an application from the Consistory, had prohibited the meetings. He therefore took the resolution to go, first of all, to Berlin, and informed Dean Reinbek that he would be there before Easter.

Meanwhile, he wrote a farewell epistle to the magistrates of Frankfort, thanking them for their kindness and prudence with respect to himself and those that were with him; and stating, with regard to the difficulties thrown in his way by

the clergy, that none of them had informed him of any thing they had against him; and that if any separation should take place in the sequel, the blame could not attach to him, since, as the whole city knew, he had endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, to hinder it.

Before he commenced his journey to Berlin, he wrote the "Sixth Declaration of his Sentiments respecting the Moravian Church." On his arrival in Berlin, his primary concern was, that his examination should be commenced. He therefore wrote to the Deans Reinbek and Rolof, whom the king had appointed for that purpose, who consequently undertook the examination, and made their report to his Majesty. The king's reply was as follows:—

"I have seen with pleasure from your report respecting Count Zinzendorf, that you have not found him holding any other doctrines than those of the Lutheran church. I wait his proposals respecting the regulations he thinks of making, concerning the Moravian brethren; and am, Sir,

"Fr. W."

There is no doubt, but that the two Lutheran deans, who had conducted the examination, would also have ordained the Count; but the latter having his attention directed to the missions to the heathen in the English colonies, and having been appointed, ten years previously, superintendent of the Moravian church, he adhered to his previous resolution of being ordained bishop of the brethren, by Jablonsky, the first and eldest bishop of that church. But before this could be effected, a variety of objections were suggested to the king, who therefore wrote to the Count, on the 10th of May, as follows:—

"With reference to the proposed ordination to the episcopacy over the German Moravian brethren, I will take the matter into maturer consideration, and then inform you of my decision."

The king accordingly requested Jablonsky to draw up a document containing his conscientious opinion; after receiving which, he wrote again to him, under date, 15th of May.

"I have seen, from your statement of the 11th instant, that you regard the ordination requested by Count Zinzendorf, as perfectly harmless, and injurious to no one. Seeing, therefore, that he persists in it, you may comply with his wishes, in God's name, and quietly ordain him, as he desires, bishop (antistes) of his Moravian brethren.

"I am, your well-affectioned king,

"FR. W."

His Majesty wrote also a very gracious letter to the Count, to the same effect.

Meanwhile, Jablonsky had written to Bishop Sitkovius, at Lissa, in Poland, and requested his opinion upon the point: the latter was perfectly unanimous with that which had been agreed upon in Berlin, and concluded with stating, "That he would not only gladly and willingly contribute his vote in writing to the proposed ordination of the Count; but though absent, yet present in spirit, instead of the imposition of his hands, would confirm it with his own handwriting and signature, and fervently entreat the Lord Jesus, the chief Shepherd, to bestow upon the Count the gifts of the Spirit of God, in rich abundance, for the beneficial administration of his sacred office, and the successful prosecution of the work of the Lord."

The ordination accordingly took place on the 20th of May (1737), in the house of the court-chaplain, by the two bishops of the Moravian church, Daniel Ernest Jablonsky, and David Nitschman, in the presence of some of the brethren from Herrnhut.

The Count subsequently received the congratulations of the king of Prussia, the archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop Sitkovius on this event. But whilst these great men rejoiced with the Moravian churches at this circumstance, it cannot be denied that many people were much enraged at it; from fear lest the king of Prussia should even feel induced to entrust the Count with the inspection of ecclesiastical affairs in his own territories. This excited a number of adversaries, who united in throwing every possible hinderance in the way of the Count: the latter did not remain in ignorance of this, but

received intelligence of it from those who were well acquainted with the circumstances.

Whilst the important affair of the Count's ordination was in progress at Berlin, a new attempt was made at the court of Saxony, with respect to his banishment. He heartily wished for permission to return to Herrnhut, where his presence was desirable in many respects; but clearly saw that it was no easy matter to obtain it. He had therefore recourse to prayer; and in his notes, I find, under date 4th of January, "In the night we prayed earnestly that we might return to Herrnhut."

After this, he felt assured that he should return, notwithstanding the little probability there was of it, and spoke of it with much confidence, although there was not at the time the slightest appearance of it.

His step-father, Field-marshal Von Nazmer, was the medium of procuring the permission. He wrote to the king of Poland, and on the 15th of June a rescript was issued, giving him leave to return to Saxony. He received intelligence of it on the 11th of June, and accepted it as from the Lord's hand. He immediately made preparations for his journey, after the needful consultations with several of the brethren who had come to Berlin.

The Countess had already taken her departure, and had arrived in Herrnhut on the 24th of May, to the great joy of the church. He himself reached that place on the 30th of June. The watchword for the day was, "Thus saith the Lord that made thee, and formed thee from the womb, which will help thee; Fear not, O Jacob, my servant, and thou, Jeshurun, whom I have chosen." (Isaiah xliv. 2.)

Speaking generally of his residence in Herrnhut, which lasted till the 4th of December, of that year, he undertook a very minute revision of the church in general, and of its members in particular, to which he devoted night and day. He recapitulated the whole counsel of God for our salvation to the brethren, and sought increasingly to ground every thing upon Christ. Wherever he met with any thing to alter or improve, in the regulation of the church and its choirs, he attended to it faithfully. If any one manifested any particular gift, or evidenced an impulse and desire to devote himself in any way

o the Saviour's service, he did not leave it without consideration or trial. The Lord was with him, and hence his blessing was not wanting.

Meanwhile, the long-expected edict appeared, as the result of the Commission held at Herrnhut the previous year, which had so minutely investigated every thing: the chief point in it was, that "the church at Herrnhut should be tolerated in its existing regulations and discipline, as long as it abided by the doctrine of the unaltered Augsburg confession."

Not long after, a bond was sent the Count for signature, which was, however, expressed in such terms, that he necessarily objected to it: for, at the very commencement, he had to confess himself guilty of things which had never entered his mind. He offered to sign it, if an alteration were made in this repect, without infringing upon the chief obligations of the bond; but this being disallowed, he resolved rather to leave the country, and choose voluntary exile, than burden his conscience; and he soon began to make preparations for so doing.

It was at this time also, that the Rev. Mr. Rothe informed the Count, that having received a call elsewhere, he intended to leave Bertholdsdorf. During the first years of his ministry there, his labours had been blessed: but it could no longer be denied, that he had subsequently suffered a great change; and that with respect to the church at Herrnhut, it seemed as if his eyes were beclouded. The Count still hoped that he would come to reflection, and enter again upon the successful career in which he had formerly seen him. Hence it pained him that he had resolved to leave Bertholdsdorf; but he continued firm to his purpose, and removed from thence, after officiating there for the space of fifteen years. The Count subsequently invited him to become his chaplain at Marienborn, and director of a theological seminary: but he could not be induced to accept the call, and therefore returned it in a letter to the Countess, from whom it had been received.

In his stead, the Rev. Caspar Leonard Mukke, of Nochten, was appointed to Bertholdsdorf, who administered the sacrament, for the first time, on the 25th November, to the Moravian brethren: the Count himself also partook of it, and prayed

in the church very fervently for the new minister, that the Lord would make him a blessing to the parish.

On the 4th of August, another daughter was born to the Count, who received the name of Joanna Salome. On the 29th, the young Count, Christian Renatus, returned to Jena, from whence he had arrived on a visit on the 8th. His residence in Jena had proved a blessing to himself and many others: for as many, both of the learned and the townspeople, ardently desired a further acquaintance with the Saviour and his grace and truth, the brethren who were with the young Count had no want of opportunity for doing good.

Before the Count left Herrnhut, he warned the brethren against trusting in men, as much as against the fear of men. He went through every point of the statutes of the church, and renewed the correct idea of them. He showed the elders, assistants, and servants of the church the duties of their various offices, and how they might be best administered. He sought also clearly to point out to the brethren and sisters, the true relation of the unity of the brethren to the established religion of the country. He entered cheerfully and usefully into conversation with those who came to visit him from sincere motives: amongst these was a colonel, sent by the king of Prussia to take a minute survey of Herrnhut, who spent several days there in November, in the execution of his commission.

Towards the end of November, the Count reflected much on the wondrous things the Lord had wrought for Herrnhut, during the last fifteen years. He sat down with some of his fellow-labourers, and noted them down as they occurred to the remembrance of each. His heart being thus full of it, he appointed the 30th of November as a day for special prayer, on which occasion he spoke impressively on the Lord's gracious dealings with the church in general: individual instances were then mentioned with gratitude; afterwards, forty brethren and sisters were accepted accolutes. They came forward in six divisions, to each of which the Count gave a separate and suitable address; the brethren were then prayed over by the elders, and the sisters by those of their own sex. The solemnities of the day were concluded with prayer.

On the first Sunday in Advent, the Count addressed, for

the last time, the customary homilies to the different choirs, and preached from the words, " O that thou wouldst rend the heavens, and come down." The congregation then fell on their knees with him, and he commended them to the grace and protection of our Lord Jesus Christ, in a heartfelt prayer, at which many tears were shed. The next day he dispatched several brethren to England, Carolina, and other places. The day following, he spoke, from five in the morning till eleven at night, with many of the brethren and sisters, and took his leave of them. On the 4th of December, after impressing upon the brethren the necessity of perfect faithfulness in following Jesus, of brotherly love and unity of spirit, as well as of conquering in succumbing, he set out on his journey, accompanied by many of the brethren, and entered upon his voluntary exile from Saxony, which lasted ten years.

He took his way, first of all, to Wetteravia, where he arrived on the 14th of December. He resided, whilst there, partly at the Ronneburg, where the opposition against him had meanwhile subsided, and partly with Baron Von Schrautenbach, at Lindheim. He also visited his friends and acquaintances in Frankfort-on-the-Mayne.

During his short residence in Wetteravia, the purchase of a piece of land, near the town of Büdingen, on which Herrnhaag was afterwards built, was concluded by some of the deputies of the brethren.

On the 16th of December, Peter Böhler, one of the learned men who were with the young Count Christian, in Jena, after receiving the Count's benediction and instructions, departed for Georgia and Carolina, in order to preach the gospel to the negro slaves. He went by way of England, after being ordained by the Count, and was well received, not only in London, but also in Oxford, particularly by the Methodists.

The Count then replied to an article, headed " Solid Questions," in the Frankfort literary journals, which, after doing justice to his zeal and distinguished abilities, inquired whether the Moravians would not do better to have no particular fraternity and fellowship, but cleave simply to the Lutheran church, since they professed its doctrines?

After this, the Count set out again for Berlin, by way of

Jena, where he visited his son. On coming to Halle from thence, his money was all expended. He wished to borrow something from an old friend, but was refused; he was therefore obliged to continue his way on foot, and thus he reached Radegast, beyond Halle. He there came with his guide to a farmer, who was quite unknown to him, but who was so kind and well disposed, that he not only brought him further on horseback, but also lent him money to enable him to travel post. A page from Dessau, who was travelling that way, and rode on before, ordered a chaise for him in Coswick, at his request, which he found waiting for him on his arrival; and in this manner he safely reached Berlin, on the 25th of December, to the joy of his beloved family, who had arrived there before him.

The Count's objects in selecting Berlin for his place of residence, were, first, that he might be near Herrnhut. Secondly, that no fresh suspicion might be excited in Dresden. Berlin was the fittest and most regular place. "My stepfather," writes the Count, "then eighty-four years of age, resided there, who stood in favour with the king of Poland. I also intended, if my mother became a widow, to offer her my house, and show her every filial attention. Thirdly, those who had been awakened here in considerable numbers, by Spener, Schade, and Lysius, were objects of my solicitude. Having found traces of Spener's labours wherever I went, and attempted, both in Dresden and Frankfort, to water the seed he had sown, I wished to do the same in Berlin, by the preaching of the gospel."

At the very first visit which the Count paid his mother in Berlin, he perceived that she had become doubtful concerning him. As a compensation for this, he had the consolation of receiving a letter in the king's own handwriting, expressive of his satisfaction that he had chosen Berlin for his residence, and offering him his protection and access to his person, should any one lay impediments in his way. Of this, he also reassured him, some days after, by Colonel Von Thümen.

Besides the brethren and sisters, whom the Count found in Berlin, others were added, and thus a little company of pilgrims assembled in his house. The young Count also arrived

from Jena with his household, and remained in Berlin until his father's departure.

The Count continued his domestic worship as before, but suffered no stranger to be present at them, until after being pressed on the point by some of the clergy, he wrote to the king, who, in his reply, told him, that he must preach, in God's name, the pure word of God, and that God would give his blessing to it.

The Count would now have preferred officiating for some of the Berlin clergy; but finding that they had secretly agreed to exclude him from their pulpits, there was no alternative, except that of opening his house to all comers. The commencement was made with a few individuals, who gave him to understand, that they came, because they thought the Count was sincere in testifying of the truth as it is in Jesus. He first held his meetings in his own apartment, but was soon obliged, for want of room, to add his ante-chamber; and when this no longer sufficed, he resolved to use the upper part of his house, which was able to contain several hundred persons, for the holding of his meetings. At the commencement, he preached to the men and women indiscriminately, but when the numbers increased so much, that even the upper part of the house could not contain them, he divided his auditory, and preached to the men on Sundays and Wednesdays, and to the women on Mondays and Thursdays: to gain room, no seats were provided from the first, but all who came, stood together without distinction. Many persons of rank, however, attended, as well as the poor and lower class, so that, one day, forty-two coaches were counted at his door.

One of the students from Jena,* to whom the instruction of the young Count was committed, and who was much attached to the Count, felt induced to write down his discourses: a specimen of his performance, which he showed the Count, pleased the latter so well, that he encouraged him to persevere in it. He did so—not that he wrote down every thing, but only short sentences: his heart was, at the same time, directed to the enjoyment of what he heard, and his tears frequently hindered

* John Michael Langguth, afterwards his son-in-law, and known as Bishop Von Wattewille.

him from proceeding. Hence there was often a want of connexion in the written discourses; however, he was so fortunate as not only to hit the Count's meaning, but frequently to express it in his own words.

The utility of this was soon seen, for the Count's discourses began to be written down by several, and handed about to others: they even came occasionally into his own hands, but were frequently not in his own language, but the writer's. He even says, that he has seen whole sermons, in their complete connexion, going about in Berlin, under his name, of which the text, the subject, and the words, were an entire fabrication. This circumstance occasioned him to publish his discourses, since it appeared to him, that in this manner he could best repel the accusations against him. He therefore took all that the student had written down, without supplying the connexion, lest he should insert any thing he had not said, and sent them to the press, after they had received Jablonsky's approval, in order that those who had related such strange things of his discourses, might be better informed of their contents.

The discourses preached to the women first left the press, with a dedication to the queen of Prussia. Some months afterwards, followed the addresses to the men, from 1st of January to 27th of April, when he terminated his residence at Berlin.

Had the Count been able to continue awhile longer with these brethren, and instruct each of them in that which was incumbent upon him, the path would have been easier: but circumstances not permitting this at the time, he endeavoured to make amends for it some months after, by writing to them. In this letter, he recommends them to dismiss from their fellowship all those who merely took pleasure in the meetings, and who were not heartily desirous of being established in grace, and of growing and increasing in it. He then formed a plan for them, by their adherence to which they would become truly religious, retain their connexion with their teachers, and mutually edify one another, as well as employ the gift which the Lord had bestowed upon each of them.

During the Count's residence in Berlin, he made very diligent use of his time: he generally read the Bible every day with the learned men he had about him, and conferred with

the elders of the church; his attention was also continually directed to the extension of the kingdom of Christ throughout the world. In a numerously-attended conference, it was decided which of the brethren should be sent out on missionary service to Holland, Surinam, Berbice, Ceylon, &c.; other topics were also discussed, such as a mission to the Jews, a church of pilgrims among Christians, and a journey to Mount Ararat, where a colony of the brethren was said to have settled many years ago.

In April, he received an edict from Saxony, forbidding him ever to return to that country. This order, in the abstract, would have been tolerable, but the causes assigned were painful to him, and he thought himself hardly dealt with: he addressed, in consequence, a letter to the king of Poland, which was afterwards published.

There was no want of those in Berlin, especially amongst the clergy, who took part against the Count; however, he expressed himself publicly, in a very lenient manner, respecting them, as appears by his preface to the Sermons to Females.

The Countess, his mother, took great pleasure in his children, for it was evident that they were under the tuition of the Holy Spirit: she was, however, the most attached to the young Count, Christian Renatus. The Count himself offered his mother his house at Bertholdsdorf, in the event of her becoming a widow, and treated her with many marks of filial respect and attachment.

The king adhered to the promise he had made to the Count on his arrival in Berlin: though nothing was omitted to degrade the latter in his esteem, his Majesty felt induced, immediately, to ask him respecting what was brought against him. On the 27th of April, the Count had the honour of waiting upon his Majesty, at Potsdam, and of personally thanking him for the uninterrupted favour and righteous protection he had enjoyed during his residence in Berlin. He took his departure on the 29th, for Cotbus, where he spent several days in conference with the brethren, whom he had appointed to meet him there.

On the 8th of May, the Count left Cotbus for Wetteravia. He writes to the Countess, under date the 26th of May, as follows:—"In Jena, I found my son proceeding in his regular

course, and was enabled to rejoice over him. I held a meeting at Erfurth, and visited several of the clergy there, and, I believe, none of them without a blessing. From thence I rode to Gotha, where I had an interview with Mr. Cyprian, a counsellor of the ecclesiastical court, with whom I conversed several hours with great cordiality and sincerity. I left Gotha with Langguth (the student who had written down his discourses), and some miles from thence we secluded ourselves, in order to proceed with our literary labours. I had afterwards an agreeable, though somewhat fatiguing walk to Schlüchtern: from thence I rode to Gelnhausen, and then went on foot to Vronhausen, where I found part of the brethren. At four o'clock this morning, I went to our plot of ground, and prayed over it; afterwards I proceeded to the Ronneburg, where I met with a pleasing reception. I have just now entered the mansion at Marienborn, from whence I write this."

After the purchase of land for a Moravian settlement in Büdingen had been completed, some of the brethren, unknown to the Count, had hired a few rooms for their use, at Marienborn. On this, the Count rented first the half, and gradually almost the whole of the castle of Marienborn, from the Count of Meerholz.

Soon after his arrival, he had many visits, particularly from those of the brethren, whom, on his departure for Berlin, he had left in Wetteravia, for the sake of the awakened there. He deliberated with them upon the steps to be taken for the promotion of the kingdom of Christ in that part of the country. Intending to proceed to the West Indies, to hold a visitation to those engaged in the mission to the negroes; he was desirous of previously accomplishing several things, which he expected would prove beneficial, as well as of making such regulations, that his absence should not prove injurious to the affairs of the church.

It was a source of pleasure to him, that Leonard Dober felt impelled to take up his residence for a time in Amsterdam, chiefly on account of the Jews. He was not certain, in his own mind, that the period of their conversion to Christianity had arrived; but yet he was persuaded that Dober, as a man of God, by residing amongst them, and avoiding disputes, whilst

devoting himself to their spiritual welfare, would infallibly prove a blessing to them.

With respect to the missions to the heathen—that to Berbice in South America was at length carried into effect; and the Lord blessed this undertaking, which was attended with greater difficulties than can be imagined, with abundant success.

The Lord also consoled the Count, about this time, respecting the mission in Greenland; after he had been most painfully grieved, a short time before, by a letter, in which that enterprise was spoken of very contemptuously, and placed amongst the things that were worse than useless. He spread this letter, after the example of Hezekiah, before the Lord, and called upon him with many tears. He now heard of the first successes of the brethren, whose labours have ever since continued to enjoy the Divine blessing.

Andrew Grasman returned from Archangel, where he had been arrested, upon suspicion of having intended to proceed to the Samoyedes, and brought to St. Petersburg, where he was set at liberty.

The proposed Moravian settlement, on a piece of land purchased in the neighbourhood of Büdingen, was also taken into consideration. A great part of the funds requisite for that purpose were obliged to be borrowed; and the Count assisted, as far as he was able, with his credit. His chief object, however, was not the building of houses, but the plan of the community itself. For this purpose, he proposed, that those brethren should dwell together at this place, which received the name of Herrnhaag, who approximated more closely to the Reformed, than to the Lutheran church. For he did not think himself called, any more than the rest of the brethren, to bring over individuals from one religious denomination to another, but advised every one to continue faithful to his own persuasion, build upon Christ Jesus, commit himself to the guidance of the Holy Spirit, abide by the doctrines of the gospel, and live a life devoted to the Saviour.

The Count now sent for his children, to Wetteravia, and along with them, a number of those who had hitherto been in the seminaries at Herrnhut. From hence arose his insti-

tutions for children, which were subsequently so extensive in those parts. Wetteravia was, indeed, not the best fitted for that purpose; for, besides being without suitable buildings for seminaries, they certainly cost him twice as much there as at Herrnhut.

However, he had important reasons for sending for them. He felt it his duty to provide for the education of those children whose parents were engaged in the Lord's service, either at home or abroad, in a manner satisfactory to them: besides which, he was desirous that his own children, whom he brought up, not for the world but for God, should participate in the blessing, which the Lord is wont to bestow upon spiritual union. He made, at that time, the commencement in Wetteravia, with the regulation which still exists among us, that the children should constitute a church, as it were, of themselves. They attend indeed occasionally, especially on festivals and thanksgiving days, the meetings of the adults; but, in general, they have meetings of their own, in which the singing and preaching is adapted to their comprehension and their hearts. They have also occasionally love-feasts; besides which, they are divided into little companies, according as they are best suited to each other, and then they converse together in the presence of a brother or a sister, respecting the state of their hearts.

In the middle of July, the Count visited the Count of Isenburg, both at Büdingen and Meerholz. He afterwards travelled to Utph, to see his uncle, Count Solms, a nobleman of much understanding and intelligence.

He was also desirous, before his voyage to the West Indies, of visiting his son at Jena, who had been joined by some young noblemen, for the purpose of being educated, according to the regulation adopted by his father. He set out for that place on the 2d of September, and returned to Marienborn on the 26th, where he had the pleasure of finding an addition to his family, by the birth of a son, in his absence. The day following, he baptized him himself, by the name of David, after delivering a very impressive address. Several persons who were present, and who had previously had their scruples respecting infant baptism, became of entirely different sentiments,

not only by means of the address delivered on the occasion, but by the ordinance itself and the consciousness of the Divine favour, which accompanied it.

On the 1st of October, he was visited by a merchant of Nüremberg, of the name of Jonas Paul Weiss, who declared that he came thither, according to the will of Christ, to do with all readiness whatever should be assigned him. This circumstance is remarkable, for this brother had from that time great influence, both upon the affairs of the church, and upon the Count's domestic concerns.

When John Töltschig returned from Georgia, by way of England, he was accompanied by several Englishmen: amongst these, was a preacher of the name of Benjamin Ingham, who remained awhile at Marienborn, in order to make himself minutely acquainted with the usages of the brethren, and especially with the Count. I have before me a copy of a letter, which he wrote to John Thorold, Esq. London, in which he says; "The worthy Count is occupied night and day in the work of the Lord, and I must confess that the Lord is really amongst the brethren. Yesterday, a boy, of eleven or twelve years of age, was baptized, and such a movement of the Holy Spirit pervaded the whole assembly, as I have never seen before at any baptism. I felt that my heart burned within me, and I could not refrain from tears. I saw that others felt as I did, and the whole congregation was moved. The brethren have shown me much affection, they have taken me to their conferences, and have not left me in ignorance of any thing concerning their church. I am much pleased with my journey hither."

A few days before the Count's departure for Holland, he set apart a day for special prayer, which was particularly blessed. He spoke first upon the words, "I am the Lord; that is my name;" and after several letters had been read from Holland, England, Russia, Greenland, &c. missionaries were presented to the church, when a blessing was implored upon their journey.

Divine service was continued the following day. The changes which had occurred during the past month, were remembered with thankfulness. Several of the brethren and sisters were

commended to the Lord, on their entering into office, or their approaching departure. At length, the Count spoke on the Watchword of the day, and, in conclusion, commended the church to the Lord, upon his knees, during which his gracious presence was sensibly felt, and much emotion was manifested.

He took leave of his consort as if he were parting for eternity, nor was she without fears that she should never see him again. The island of St. Thomas, whither he was going, is one of the most unhealthy in the West Indies. It has often happened, that of a hundred persons, who came thither from Europe at the same time, scarcely ten were left at the end of the year. Hence the Count was reproached by ignorant people, for dealing so unmercifully with the brethren and sisters, in sending them thus to meet their death. He therefore thought it best to accompany the brethren proceeding to that island. If it were the Lord's will to take him to himself on the occasion, he was perfectly resigned to it: but if he preserved him, it would be evident, that a servant of the Lord must not necessarily die, because he proceeds to an unhealthy place ; but that he enters into his rest, at the Lord's appointed time.

His consort showed herself, under these circumstances, as a true handmaid of Jesus Christ. She received every thing that was painful to nature, as from the Lord's hand, and continued firm. She renewed the covenant with her husband, to live so as to please God, and to be in readiness to accomplish all his will.

On the 22d of October, he commenced his journey to Holland. Some of his fellow-labourers accompanied him to Mayence, with whom he conferred on what was still requisite, respecting the church and its several members. On the 27th he arrived in Amsterdam, the time appointed for the sailing of the ship; but it was not until the 21st of December, that it left the Texel. He regarded this not as accidental, but as from the Lord.

During this period, a poisonous exhalation spread itself in Holland against the brethren, and particularly against the Count. A pamphlet appeared, under the name of a "Pastoral Letter," in which the clergy of Amsterdam laid many things to the charge of the brethren and the Count, which had never entered their

minds. This affair having been attended with many painful consequences, I will here advert to it more particularly.

The immediate occasion of it was, probably, a conversation which the Count had with a minister at the Hague, and two others at Ysselstein. He had expressed himself rather harshly to the former, respecting certain views prevalent in Holland concerning election: the latter had strangely misunderstood or misconstrued his expressions, and ascribed sentiments to him which he had never entertained.

These, and other things, were brought before the synod of South Holland, and were referred for examination to some deputies appointed for that purpose. The affair was then taken into consideration by the synod of North Holland, and referred to a clergyman in Amsterdam. Hence originated the Pastoral Letter, in which it was endeavoured to prove from Lelong's historical account of the Brethren, from certain letters translated from the German, and from the Moravian Hymn-book, that the brethren adhered to opinions which did not accord with the doctrine of Christ and his apostles; on which account they warned all the members of the Dutch church against them.

When the Count heard of what had transpired in the synod of South Holland, he immediately wrote to the ecclesiastical council in Amsterdam before the publication of the Pastoral Letter, most urgently requesting them to furnish him with the charges brought against him, in order that he might consider them in the presence of God, and sincerely express his sentiments upon them.

To this letter no answer was returned before the publication of the Pastoral Letter. But as, meanwhile, the Rev. Mr. Shiphout, of Amsterdam, informed him of what he had heard, he answered him briefly and explicitly; and showed, that all the accusations deduced from his discourses were destitute of the slightest foundation. This was also clearly shown by Counsellor Beyen, of Ysselstein, in a pamphlet which appeared some months after. The written protestation of the Rev. F. Debruin, of Amsterdam, against the publication of the Pastoral Letter, likewise appeared in print. In this document he assigns seven weighty reasons, why he could not assent to

it; the fourth of which is, "Because, in the whole affair, the hearing of the accused party has been totally omitted, and the proposition made to this effect, in the assembly, rejected."

Meanwhile, even before the publication of the Pastoral Letter, a defence of the Moravian brethren appeared, under the name of Baron Von Wattewille, which was, however, regarded as their confession of faith, and occasion taken from it to assault the brethren still more severely.

The manner in which the magistrates acted on this occasion, is highly commended by the Count; he says, "They sent for the Pastoral Letter, (which was printed without their knowledge, if not in opposition to their remonstrances,) to the Senate-house, where it lay several weeks; whilst Baron Von Wattewille's defence was sold by thousands; so that the clergy, who it was known had resolved upon something, respecting which they were not sufficiently informed, had opportunity enough of procuring it, and their Honours used every effort to teach them better. At length, when they perceived that it might cause disturbance if the Pastoral Letter were longer withheld, since the clergy began openly to preach against the civil authorities—they sent the same week for Plantinus, the president, who had himself protested against the Pastoral Letter, and gave it to him, declaring, that they would have been very glad if such a pastoral letter, with the protest against it, had never seen the light. From love to peace, however, they would yield to its being published; but declared, at the same time, most solemnly, that they would take no part in it, nor have any thing to do with the disturbances and divisions in the church which might ensue from it, of which they were very apprehensive. They therefore left it to the responsibility of the ecclesiastical council, who had begun the affair without them, to carry it on; but insisted, that the said council should not in future dare to publish any thing in a matter of the kind, whether more or less, without first communicating with the Commissary of the Police upon the subject, according to the provisions of the synod of Dort.

Thus the Pastoral Letter at length made its appearance. The Count, who could not comprehend why no notice was taken of his letter to the ecclesiastical council, wrote in haste another

letter, in which he urgently entreated that the Pastoral Letter might be recalled, until they were better informed; for he had immediately found in it five or six manifest and tangible untruths, and believed that the honour of the ecclesiastical council required that they should be altered, before the document came into every one's hands.

The ship, by which he was to sail to St. Thomas, having already left the harbour, and he being obliged to hasten after it, he was nevertheless able to leave a declaration behind him, concerning what had occurred in Amsterdam, from the 28th of October, with respect to himself and the Moravian church. At its close, he says, "I have therefore left behind me a treatise, which will explain what I have still to say—that the Pastoral Letter is founded upon a complete misunderstanding, and that I do not know the Herrnhuters therein described. I now leave Amsterdam, with cordial affection, satisfaction, and prayer that our peace may remain upon it. But to those who have acted so inimically towards us, I wish a blessed change by Divine grace, for the sake of the Saviour's sufferings and death, whom they have persecuted and despised in his sheep, whom he loves. May he not lay this sin to their charge!"

However painful the Pastoral Letter was to the Count, and however much he was grieved, that all his endeavours to remove the misunderstanding were fruitless, yet in his heart he was richly comforted, so that he wrote to the Countess, stating, "that the Saviour's presence was so sensibly and blissfully felt by him, that he could not express it; his heart was supremely happy in him."

He now hastened on board the vessel, which arrived on the 11th of December in the Texel, but was obliged to lie at anchor there till the 21st. During this interval, he prepared the Watchwords for the year 1739. He also wrote a letter, the day the ship put to sea, in which he gives the reasons why he did not more fully explain himself upon several points, previous to his voyage to the West Indies.

When at sea, he wrote another copious letter, dated the 27th of December, to the elders and assistants of the church, which was sent back by the pilot. He calls it his "Eventual Testa-

ment," in which he states his fundamental ideas respecting the ordinances of the church, the regulations which had been introduced, and every thing connected with the well-being and labours of the brethren.

Before the Count put to sea, the Saviour took to himself his little daughter Anna Theresa, a child of about five years of age, who had given many proofs of decided and extraordinary piety, and finished her short career with joy. The intelligence of this event, however, did not reach him before his departure.

CHAPTER V.

ARRIVAL AT ST. THOMAS—OCCURRENCES THERE—RETURN TO GERMANY—SYNOD AT EBERSDORF—JOURNEY TO WÜRTEMBERG—SERIOUS ILLNESS—SINGULAR CURE—MISSIONS OF THE BRETHREN—JOURNEY TO SWITZERLAND—SYNOD AT GOTHA AND MARIENBORN—PROCEEDS TO HOLLAND AND ENGLAND—VOYAGE TO NORTH AMERICA—ARRIVAL AT NEW YORK—RESIDENCE IN PENNSYLVANIA—PREACHES TO THE LUTHERANS—SYNOD OF THE SECTS—JOURNEY AMONG THE INDIANS—RETURN TO ENGLAND—VISIT TO YORKSHIRE—ARRIVAL IN HOLLAND—RESIDENCE IN SILESIA—JOURNEY TO LIVONIA—IMPRISONMENT IN RIGA—RETURN TO SILESIA—VISITS TO HERRNHUT—RETURN TO MARIENBORN—SYNODS HELD THERE.

THE passage to St. Thomas exceeded little more than a month. Although the winter season is seldom chosen for undertaking such a voyage, on account of the unpleasantness and stormy weather, yet the Count preferred going to sea in the winter, being more oppressed by the heat than by the cold. However, this would not have decided him, if it had not been evident to him that circumstances demanded it, and that it was the Saviour's will he should undertake the voyage at that time.

The sea sickness, which had always been very troublesome to him on his former voyages, did not this time last longer than a day, and that was whilst the vessel was still lying at anchor. "Having so much to do," says he, "I pleaded with the Saviour, that it would not do for me to be ill; and I recovered, even before we sailed."

I find the events of the voyage contained in a letter, which he subsequently wrote to the king of Prussia. He says in it, "Your Majesty graciously desires to know how long I was at sea, after leaving the Texel. Two days before our departure, the other vessels put to sea, but we lost an anchor, and remained. In twenty-four hours, the others either returned or tacked about in the Channel. But on the 26th of December, we entered

directly into the North Sea, with a side wind, which continuing, we passed through the Channel—the grave of so many vessels—and in a few days entered the Atlantic Ocean, which, though it presents a terrific appearance, is no longer so dangerous.

"The wind we had, might be properly called a storm. At the mouth of the Channel, an unpleasant event occurred; a heavy sea damaged the rudder, and we were tossed about for twenty-four hours. The storm drove us along past the African coast, with such rapidity, that in a fortnight we entered the trade winds. These continued so strong, that we ran into St. Eustatia on the 28th of January, without having shifted a single sail since we left the Texel."

In St. Eustatia, he was asked whether he knew that St. Thomas's was the general churchyard of the West Indies, from whence scarcely any one returned, on account of the malaria; and it was added, that he had arrived just in the most unhealthy season; two months later there would not have been so much danger, for it was the healthiest during the hot season. All this, however, produced no effect upon him, and it only occurred to him, that the will of the Lord should be done.

He therefore soon hired a small vessel, and sailed, during the night, to St. Thomas, where he landed safely on the 29th of January, 1739.

No sooner had he reached the shore, than he heard that the brethren Martin, Bönike, Freundlich, and others were in prison. Amongst others, he asked a negro, where the brethren were? "They are all in prison," was the reply.

The Count. How long have they been there?

Negro. Upwards of three months.

The Count. What are the negroes doing in the mean time?

Negro. O, they go on well, and there is a great awakening amongst them. The imprisonment of the brethren is quite a sermon to them.

The Count now requested the Governor to set the brethren at liberty: when this was done, and they were sent to him by an officer, with a complimentary message from the Governor, he kissed their hands, in the presence of the officer, in order to show how highly he valued the people, who had been cast into prison as criminals. From that time they continued at

liberty, and until after the Count's departure, nothing further was brought against them.

He found the poor negro slaves in a state of unusual oppression, because it was imagined, that if they became Christians, they would also become more intelligent, and then it would be impossible for the trifling number of white people—in comparison with whom, the blacks were supposed to be fifty, if not a hundred, to one—to keep such an immense number in awe. From these and other reasons, they endeavoured to prevent the blacks from becoming Christians. And since they would not suffer themselves to be restrained, (for their desire for salvation was incredibly great,) they were treated very harshly, and in some instances, even cruelly. But this made the word of God the more sweet to them; they received it with joy and with many tears.

The day after the Count's arrival, the Governor came himself to him, and apologized for the imprisonment of the brethren, affirming that it was against his will, and without his permission; that the liberties taken by the people in the West Indies were very great, and that it was difficult to maintain authority over them.

The Count let the matter rest, and asked the Governor, if he were at liberty to act as he pleased towards the negroes? which was answered in the affirmative. He had previously had no intercourse with any of them.

A correspondence afterwards ensued, between the Count and the Governor, respecting the labours of the brethren amongst the negro slaves, in which Mr. Carstens, a Director of the West India Company, who was at that time in St. Thomas, was the medium, and carried the letters himself. The negociation went so far, that the Count offered in writing to pass over what had occurred, and forget it as much as possible; and the Governor also declared in writing, that he would permit Frederick Martin to baptize the negroes, until the royal ratification could be procured.

The Count, meanwhile, commenced his labours, respecting which he writes:—"In consequence of Brother Martin's severe indisposition, I was obliged to hold the meeting for him; and after Abraham, a negro assistant, had offered up a

very heartfelt and urgent supplication to the Saviour, I began with my customary ejaculation, 'I believe that Jesus Christ is my Lord;' when I was affected beyond measure, by a multitude of negro voices, more numerous than I have ever heard in our meetings, unexpectedly joining with me in their broken accents, and some of them with tears, and continuing, 'My Lord! my Lord! who has redeemed me, a lost and undone human creature.'*

"About a week afterwards, on a Sunday afternoon, the island of St. Thomas witnessed an extraordinary scene. About the half of those negroes who had sought salvation from the Saviour, resorted to me, so that the large saloon was scarcely sufficiently capacious to contain them, although standing close together. O, how greatly I rejoiced, at not only being able to sing two of my own hymns with this large assembly, but after sermon and prayer, at hearing them all, with one heart and voice, conclude with the verse, 'Amen, that is, let it be true.'†

"A faithful and respectable friend of the brethren, who, amongst his many negroes, scarcely saw one that had any desire for Jesus, requested me to hold a meeting with them daily, as long as I remained in the island. The Saviour rendered them willing, they crowded to hear, and others of the neighbouring slaves availed themselves of the opportunity. They have promised me, before God, to turn to the Saviour; we will now see whether they keep their promise. Besides which, they have recently been increased by an addition of upwards of thirty slaves."

The number of negro men, concerned for the salvation of their souls, amounted at that time to six hundred and fifty, and of negro women, to two hundred and fifty. Some of these came every evening, as they were able, to their teachers, who ministered the gospel to them: but the general meeting was held on the Saturday evening, and often terminated only at seven or eight o'clock on the Sunday morning. The brethren were also obliged, occasionally, to visit the different planta-

* A passage from the Litany for Easter Morning:—see Hymn Book of the United Brethren.

† The concluding stanza of a well-known metrical paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, by Martin Luther.

tions from whence the people came, of which there were upwards of fifty.

Frederick Martin, though very weak and emaciated, was very faithful in his ministry, and indefatigable in his labours. He was very strict with the negroes, and when he perceived any thing in them, whence he could infer that they were not yet in earnest in seeking the Saviour, he excluded them, and did not receive them again, until they manifested heart-felt repentance and amendment. Notwithstanding this, the number of those who had a desire for the word of God daily increased, which is the more remarkable, since both the brethren and the negroes who resorted to them, had much to suffer.

We have already touched upon some of the reasons, why the planters were so much opposed to the conversion of the negroes; to these may be added the consideration, that if the negro women were converted, they would no longer yield themselves up to a licentious life. The Rev. Mr. Borm, a Reformed minister there, was dissatisfied, because Martin not only taught the poor slaves, but baptized those who believed on the Lord Jesus Christ. Therefore, with the consent of his elders, he accused the brethren to the government, and desired that they might be punished.

It was not, however, simply on this account that the brethren had been imprisoned; for another reason was assigned for it. A certain individual, who once belonged to the brethren, but had separated from them, was suspected of having stolen something. The brethren were required, in consequence, to take an oath, but on their declining it, from the belief that they ought not to swear in such matters, they were imprisoned from week to week, until they had been there three months, and would probably have paid for it with their lives, had they remained longer in prison; for their health was already seriously injured, which is not surprising, when we reflect upon the consequences of being deprived of fresh air for so long a period in a hot country.

With respect to the cause of opposition to the mission first assigned, nothing could be done but commend the matter to God: for, although the Governor showed himself willing, till the moment the Count quitted the island, to contribute as

much as he was able, towards defending the brethren from molestation in their labours, yet a public tumult was suddenly excited, and the Governor was requested to send the people out of the island. And for what reason? Because they taught the negroes to be better Christians than their masters.

These enraged people did not wait until the affair was investigated, but entered the negroes' meeting in a boisterous manner, beat the poor slaves most cruelly, and chased them all away with oaths and curses, and horrible blasphemies. The words were then applicable, "Here is the patience and faith of the saints."

The Count sent word to Mr. Borm, that he and Frederick Martin were willing to pass over and forget every thing, if the former would declare, verbally or in writing, that he had been under a mistake, and would not in future interfere with the negroes to whom the Gospel was preached; but that, if he persisted in the supposed justice of his cause, the affair must be referred to the king of Denmark.

No answer being returned to this, the Count wrote to Copenhagen; and on the 7th August a royal edict was transmitted to the President and Directors of the West India Company, to protect Martin and his assistants against the Reformed clergyman; at the same time the latter was reminded that he too was only tolerated in St. Thomas, and had no right to assume authority over the brethren.

The Count spoke seriously to the Fiscal, who did not deny that the brethren had been imprisoned for no other reason than that above mentioned: but, on taking his departure, he forbade the brethren from interfering, in any respect, in the affair of the man suspected of purloining.

On finding, further, that they troubled the missionary Freundlich on account of his marriage, which had been solemnized by Frederick Martin, and that they sought to compel him to be re-married, he expressed himself very seriously on the subject, referred to the promise of complete religious liberty given to the brethren before their departure for the West Indies, and appealed, as bishop of the Moravian church, against all further proceedings, to the Royal West India Company.

These persecutions, however ill-meant, were of use in giving the negroes clearly to know, that they had to look, not to the

example of those who called themselves Christians, but to the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ. It was also evident to them, that there were only two classes of people in the world,—those that believe in Jesus, confide in his word, walk in the light, and manifest themselves to be children of God; and those who are carnally-minded, who love darkness, serve sin, and, in short, have not Jesus in their hearts, but do the will of the wicked one. Hence, the Count states, that he should have been at a loss how to explain to the poor negroes the difference between the mere profession and the possession of religion, had not the circumstances above mentioned pointed it out to them in an almost tangible manner.

He was at length convinced, from all these events, that nothing effectual would be done in the matter unless he returned to Europe, and duly represented the case in Copenhagen. He therefore found it necessary to withdraw his offer made to the Governor to forgive and forget every thing, and to refer the matter to the Danish government.

But before he took his departure, the awakened negroes in St. Thomas, and especially those of them who had been baptized, wrote a letter to the king of Denmark, in the Creolian tongue, stating their distress to his Majesty, in very natural expressions, and most pathetically entreating that they might not be prevented from becoming acquainted, through the ministry of the brethren, with our Lord Jesus Christ, for their eternal salvation. The letter was dated the 15th February, 1739, and signed by several of them, in the name of six hundred and fifty negroes, who were desirous of becoming acquainted with Jesus Christ.

A similar letter was addressed to the queen of Denmark, and signed by a negro woman in the name of two hundred and fifty of her own sex, who were concerned for the salvation of their souls.

On the same day, the 15th February, the Count wrote a farewell letter to the negroes in St. Thomas, setting before them, in forcible terms, how miserable they were, as poor heathens; what Jesus had purchased for them by his death, and how they might become partakers of it: further, that they ought not to let themselves be terrified by afflictions, nor deterred by their sinfulness and misery, from coming to Jesus, and abiding with

him; and, finally, how they ought to act towards their masters, and each other.

Before his departure, a house and a small plantation were purchased for the use of the mission. Trifling as this circumstance may appear, yet much was gained by it: for the brethren had been, hitherto, destitute of a place where they could enjoy privacy, and devote themselves to the spiritual wants of the negroes. It was not effected without difficulty; and the Count regarded it as a providential occurrence. The house is situate on a hill, called Posaunenberg: it was consecrated, on the 15th February, by the tears and prayers of the congregation; and a quarter of an hour afterwards was exposed to an outrageous attack from the enemies of the truth.

The Count became acquainted, in St. Thomas, with Captain Nicholas Garrison, of New York, which proved a very beneficial circumstance, in the sequel, to that individual and his family. In his first conversation with him, the Count said to him, "You have, probably, heard much of me, and I will also say something respecting myself;—I love the Saviour, and he loves me:" which, as Captain Garrison relates, produced a remarkable impression upon him.

After the Count had inquired of the Governor, by letter, whether any one had any charge to bring against him, and had been answered in the negative, he set sail from St. Thomas on the 17th February. The negroes wept much at his departure, and assured him that they would continue faithful to the Saviour. He first directed his course to the two Danish islands, St. Jan and St. Croix; and, in the latter, visited the graves of the brethren and sisters, who had finished their course whilst seeking the salvation of others, with feelings of profound reverence and thankfulness to the Saviour.

From St. Croix he proceeded to the Dutch island of St. Eustatia, in order to avail himself of the first opportunity of returning to Europe. Owing to contrary winds, he spent eight whole days on this passage, which he had accomplished, in January, in twenty-four hours; and as the vessel was very small and ill-built, he experienced more unpleasantness on this short sail, than he had to endure on his four voyages across the ocean.

He fortunately found a ship still at St. Eustatia, which he had imagined had already taken its departure ; but new difficulties now occurred. The cabin was already occupied ; at least he was told there was no room for him and his company. At length a state room, and half the cabin, were resigned to him ; and the Governor of St. Eustatia made a written agreement with the captain for the Count's passage to Amsterdam.

A Portuguese Jew, of the name of Da Costa, had become acquainted with the Count on board the vessel in which he arrived at St. Eustatia, and felt a high esteem for him. This Jew was in good credit amongst his own people ; for he was zealous in his religion, and was regarded as a pious man. But outwardly it went ill with him ; and being no longer able to maintain himself in the West Indies, he had resolved, with the advice of the Governor of St. Eustatia, who had a great esteem for him, to go to Amsterdam, in the hope of succeeding better there. This man applied to the Count, and besought him, with tears, to take him with him to Amsterdam.

The Count had already brought two persons with him from St. Thomas,—a Dane and a negro. A work of grace had been already begun in the former ; and the latter was not only awakened and had been baptized, but was an assistant in the negro church, and a very hopeful young man, whose liberty the Count had purchased in order that he might visit the churches in Germany, and afterwards return to minister to his own people. The Count, however, could not find in his heart to deny the Jew's request, especially since he found something in him which is sought in vain in many. He was not only a learned man in his way, and spoke, besides the Portuguese, English and French, but was also well-disposed and moral in his conduct. The Count, therefore, promised to take him to Amsterdam, and to pay the passage for himself and his wife.

After spending five weeks in the West India Islands, he went on board, and set sail soon after. His kindness towards Da Costa went so far that he gave up the state room to him, which had been prepared for himself, that he and his wife might have a convenient berth, whilst he remained in the cabin with the other passengers. But being often disturbed by them in his occupations, and as they did not feel so much at

liberty in his presence as previously, the captain caused a wooden partition to be erected, which enabled him to apply himself to his labours undisturbedly; and in this manner he spent seven weeks on board the vessel.

During the passage, he did not omit seeking the spiritual benefit of the ship's company; in doing which, he made use of an unusual method. On Sundays, he sent for them into the cabin, and gave them a sermon, in which he told them what he thought of their course of life, and how happy the children of God were. Irrespective of this, he let them go and do as they pleased, without particularly repressing them; but if any one who, during the whole day, had done nothing but curse and swear, took a prayer-book into his hand, or even named the name of Jesus, he warned him not to mock God, nor to take his holy name in vain. Once, when two of the number drew their swords against each other, he rushed between them, took away their swords, and laid them under his bed; nor did he restore them to the parties until they came to land.

Da Costa, the Jew, was much with the Count, and generally sat with him till after midnight: the latter did not urge him to become a convert, but stated to him very freely, how happy he was with the Saviour, and how cordially he loved him. The Jew listened with much attention; and when the Count sang hymns in honour of the Saviour, the Jew asked him to explain them, during which he often wept. The Count listened to him in return; for he had much to object, and was accustomed to philosophize.

The Count was very diligent in his labours on board the vessel, respecting which he says, in a letter to the Countess, "I do all that I am wont to do on shore, and even more."

During the voyage, he was physically very weak, and ate but little; and after giving up his bed, he had only an uncomfortable berth, and little repose: his body even became wounded and ulcerated. Those that were with him were ill the greatest part of the time: Da Costa, however, waited upon him; respecting whom he said, there was nothing Jewish in him but his zeal for his religion. In his heart the Count was very happy, and assured the Countess, "that it was indescribable what the Lord had done for his soul." Enoch's purity, Joseph's eleva-

tion, Zerubbabel's office, John's universal love, Basil's patience, Count Elger's* simplicity, and Spener's humility, made a particular impression upon him : for, during the voyage, his attention was much directed towards church history ; and he says, " If I am faithful, I hope to tread, by God's grace, in the steps of these brethren, whose example is so beneficially set before me by the Holy Spirit."

Amongst the hymns which the Count composed upon this voyage, we notice one especially, which has subsequently appeared in so many collections, as best expressing the feelings of his heart ; we mean that which commences with the well-known lines,—

> " Jesus, thy blood and righteousness
> My beauty are, my glorious dress ;
> 'Midst flaming worlds, in these arrayed,
> With joy shall I lift up my head."

On arriving off Dover, on the 20th April, he entered a boat, and notwithstanding the stormy weather, reached the harbour, although not without imminent peril, having been upon the water from five o'clock in the evening till one at night.

In England, he paid short visits, both at Oxford and London. The movement and awakening which had there taken place, excited his astonishment. He did all in his power to promote the good cause, but would not, and could not identify himself with the course of things as they presented themselves to his view.

From England, he proceeded to Holland, where he also made a short stay. He arrived there at a very peculiar time. The Pastoral Letter, with the protestations against it, had excited a great sensation. The accusations against the brethren were carried to a great length, and caused much animosity in many : but amongst the brethren thus in a state of suffering, great peace, grace, and an abundant blessing prevailed. Thus the Count found it, both in Heerendyk and Amsterdam, and was greatly rejoiced at it. He was very welcome at both places, and the

* A nobleman of the house of Hohenstein, who lived in the former part of the thirteenth century, and approved himself a devoted follower of Christ.

Lord acknowledged him as his servant and evangelist. In Heerendyk he baptized an adult, on which occasion the spectators were deeply affected.

Before he left Holland, he published a declaration, in reference to what had appeared against him, in the Dutch language. It is short, and contains only the reasons why he preferred being silent upon the subject for a time.

From Holland, the Count travelled to Marienborn, where he arrived on the 1st of June, and had the happiness to find the Countess and the whole of his family in good health; for the young Count, Christian Renatus, who had been previously studying at Jena, had resided at Marienborn since the 15th of April. The young noblemen, Von Schrautenbach and Von Schachman, were with him, together with brother John Nitschman and the students who gave him lessons, as well as the rest of those belonging to his retinue.

The return of the Count from the West India Islands caused the greater joy, from being unexpected; for the brethren and sisters, who had gone to St. Croix in January 1734, had spent thirty weeks upon the passage, which he had accomplished in less than five. But that which diminished the joy occasioned by his return, was the Count's severe indisposition, owing to the fatigues of the voyage and incessant occupation, together with the unwholesome food on board the vessel.

Andrew, the negro, whom he had brought with him from St. Thomas, accompanied him to Marienborn, and was a pleasing instance of the powerful grace which operated at that time amongst the slaves.

The Count had previously written to the Countess, that he would not remain long in Marienborn, on his return. He deemed it necessary both to hold a synod and to undertake a journey to Würtemberg, and thought it best to accomplish these objects, that he might afterwards prosecute his labours at Marienborn without interruption: but because he would not leave Marienborn without informing the church there of the particulars of his visitation in the West Indies, as well as his visit to England and Holland, he held a special meeting, the day after his arrival. He gave in it a clear idea of the state in which he had found and left every thing, and commended

the whole to the prayers and intercession of the brethren and sisters.

After this, one of the brethren was accepted an acoluth; that is, publicly received into the covenant of the brethren and sisters, who had devoted themselves to the service of the Saviour and the church. On this occasion, the Count spoke of fidelity in small things, in the practice of which, the individual seeks to preserve his heart every moment, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ; so that not a thought nor desire may stray or deviate from the Saviour; and affirmed that this was something which pleased the Lord better than if the man accomplished ever so much in his service.

The brethren Molther and Langguth were then ordained ministers of the gospel, by the imposition of hands, according to the usages of the church. The Count, at the same time, declared that although ordination was to be considered as a needful observance, no brother, on being ordained, ought to think himself better on that account than another, for the Holy Spirit was able, according to his good pleasure, to grant more grace and gifts to an unordained brother, than to one who had received ordination: the latter, however, being performed in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Father, and the Holy Spirit, in faith in the word of God, with heartfelt prayer and supplication, had its peculiar blessing, independent of its importance as an ecclesiastical transaction.

A few days after, the brethren who were appointed to be present at the synod, set out from Marienborn for Ebersdorf, where it was resolved that it should be held: it commenced on the 9th of June, and lasted till the 15th. The state of the churches in the various districts in which the Lutheran and Reformed faith respectively prevailed, was its principal object.

It was observed, that most of the awakenings which had taken place, by the preaching of the gospel in several places, did not continue as they had commenced. Some of those who had been powerfully affected, soon lost what they ought to have cherished, and those who still maintained their standing, seldom built upon the right foundation, and did not attend to the admonition of the Apostle, "Grow up in all things unto him, who is the head, even Christ."

These people were, for the most part, convinced that they were defective in brotherly fellowship, which, according to Scripture, is so necessary, and never remains without a blessing, if regulated according to the mind of Christ. They therefore longed for it, and hoped that if it were established amongst them, it would be better with them. Nor were they in the wrong, in my opinion; and I believe the Holy Ghost himself excited this desire in them.

But their idea was, to have every thing regulated according as it was in Herrnhut: there were also those amongst the brethren, who were not disinclined to minister to them; and these regulations were made in some places, similar to those in Herrnhut, but which were unsuitable for *their* circumstances.

Now, although the Count heartily concurred in Spener's idea of a reformation of the church, and believed that in order to this, those that were awakened should exercise love towards each other, and edify one another in a regular manner,—yet he was not of opinion that they ought to form themselves according to a model which was not adapted to their circumstances, and the religious constitution to which they belonged; nor did he believe that they would derive that benefit from it which they expected.

It was on this point that he wished to come to an understanding with the brethren at the synod: but he could not immediately accomplish his wishes, for some of the brethren did not fully enter into his views on the subject.

When the synod was ended, he set out for Würtemberg on foot, accompanied only by a single brother. On his journey, he preached in several places, and letters from various clergymen prove that his discourses were both much approved of and greatly blessed.

After his return from Würtemberg to Marienborn, on the 16th of July, a clergyman at Enslingen published a sermon, which the Count was said to have preached in Hall, in Swabia, falsely pretending to have received the Count's permission to print it. He also assured every one that he had heard it himself, and taken it down from the Count's own lips; although much was added which the Count had not said: much that he had really said was not contained in it, and his

meaning often erroneously expressed. This was easily proved; for a Würtemberg clergyman, who was accustomed to hear the Count, had written down the same sermon, in which every thing was very different. This occasioned Dean Seyboth, of Hall, to express his pointed disapprobation to the clergyman of Enslingen; and it was also taken much amiss of him by others, especially since the sermon appeared in the city of Hall under a false announcement, and with a very obnoxious preface.

The Count being unable to acknowledge it as his own, or approve of such an irregular procedure, published, after his return, "A small Collection of Hymns," containing the substance of his discourses in Würtemberg. He then devoted all his time and strength to the affairs of the Moravian churches; but, in consequence of the weak state in which he had returned from the West Indies, it was the less surprising that his indefatigable exertions laid him at length on a sick bed. His illness consisted of an entire prostration of his physical powers, and rose to such a height, that he had no other idea than that all his labours were about to reach their termination. He also ardently longed for the hour when he should depart in peace to his Lord and Saviour, to whom his heart so entirely cleaved. He continued, during his whole illness, in a state of perfect peace, his mind being entirely engrossed in his dear Saviour's cause. And the strangest thing was, that he was never more cheerful than when he was at the worst; whilst, on the contrary, when there were signs of amendment, he was generally silent and thoughtful. However, it was the Lord's will that he should continue longer here below.

A singular circumstance occurred during his illness. His physician had prescribed him a cooling drink, of which he was every time to take a table-spoonful: the person who had to administer it reached him, by mistake, in its stead, a spoonful of the *Essentia dulcis*. Scarcely had he taken it when he was seized with an indescribable heat, so that he seemed to be inwardly and outwardly on fire. No remedy could be thought of, but that of applying to the Saviour, and he afforded aid: for a most copious perspiration ensued, which continued for some days and nights together, by which the violence of the disease was broken.

When he began to amend, he wrote to the king of Prussia as follows:—" For the last four weeks I have been very ill. I had great hopes of being dismissed from my labours, and being with the Lord; but they are vanished for the present."

During his illness, he wrote an " Acknowledgment of his having received the late Controversial Writings." He was grieved to see that people, who had hitherto professed themselves his most faithful and confidential friends and servants, had openly taken their station in the ranks of his adversaries. He could scarcely imagine any thing else, than that this arose from the report universally spread in his absence, that he was dead. But he was now apprehensive that, after the custom of the learned, who do not willingly retract what they have once written, they would continue to maintain what they had published against him. Being unwilling that men should impute things to him after his decease, which had never entered his mind, he again explained himself upon the erroneous charges brought against him.

On the 25th of October, he had the pleasure of seeing his daughter, Benigna, appointed to the office of elder of the choir of girls.

The 7th of November was kept as a day of special prayer for the children, on which occasion his eldest son, the young Count Christian Renatus, was received into the community of professing children.

It must also be mentioned that, on the 30th of June, of this year, this young nobleman had an establishment of his own appointed at Herrnhaag. From the students employed in his tuition, and other learned men who resorted thither, a theological seminary of the Augustine confession was formed, which became an important institution for the promotion of the gospel; and the Count did not fail to devote much of his attention to it.

Of the various journeys of the brethren, which took place after the Count's return, I will only mention three, in which he took a particular interest.

On the 5th of October, his former host at Stralsund, Abraham Ehrenfried Richter, set out with a deeply affected, though cheerful heart, on his journey to Algiers, upon which the Lord's blessing had been invoked the day before by the

church. The following extract is from a letter written by the Count to Mr. Paravicini, the Dutch consul in Algiers:—

"The ancient church of the Moravian brethren has been in the habit of reflecting upon such places as are destitute of the gospel. England, Holland, and Denmark, have hitherto generously opened doors for that purpose. Captain (subsequently Admiral) Schryver, a friend of ours, besought us to take an interest in the slaves at Algiers. Scarcely did Mr. Richter hear of this, when he stated the impulse he felt to go thither: and we found it good to send him away quietly, merely informing you of it by letter, and committing the matter, in other respects, to you. His intention is to tell the slaves of their Creator, who has bought them with his blood; and we have thought it was worth the while," &c.

Mr. Richter's residence in Algiers was attended with a particular blessing; and Consul Paravicini bore a favourable testimony to his proceedings.

The journey of Mr. Arvid Gradin to Constantinople was connected with that of the brethren Jaeschke and Herschel to Wallachia, towards whom the Hospodar, Constantine Scarlati, manifested himself as a friendly, gracious, and complacent ruler; and gave them a document, signed also by the Boyards, addressed to the church, in which a company of our people were invited to settle at Bucharest.

With respect to the journey of Mr. Gradin, the Count says, "Our attention was directed, at the time, to the Guebres in Persia; and another reason also induced us to live, as much as possible, on peaceable and neighbourly terms with the Greek and Armenian churches, without identifying ourselves with them. We had sufficient access to the Armenians; but I know of no better plan respecting the Greek church, than to communicate with the patriarch of Constantinople himself, and ascertain from him, how they would act towards our respective colonies and missions.

"I wrote, therefore, first, to the Marquis de Fenelon, the French ambassador at the Hague, and requested him to speak with Mr. Gradin himself, and instruct him how he might go to work at Constantinople, in the least offensive manner. The ambassador—one of those extraordinary men, who act with

a degree of prudence and uprightness which must be considered as the especial gift of God—not only gave Gradin good advice, but also a recommendation to the ambassador at Constantinople. No sooner had Gradin arrived there, than his countrymen laid an embargo upon him, and requested permission to introduce him. His stay in Constantinople was thus rendered agreeable; for he preached the gospel in the Swedish ambassador's chapel, and attended to his business with so much the more leisure. The intimate acquaintance which the ambassadors procured him with Dercom, the metropolitan, and the latter with the learned patriarch of Jerusalem, soon procured him success in his principal affair. The patriarch of Constantinople himself received him honourably, and with much consideration, as deputed by a foreign church; and Gradin's only fatality was, that more was given him than he asked for. Finding in the patriarch's circular letter the term 'fellowship,' instead of the 'neighbourly feeling,' for which he had solicited, he declined to accept the original of the letter; because, unless this word were altered, he could make no use of it; and, meanwhile, took a copy of it with him, in order first to ascertain whether we would accept the original. This was taken much amiss; but no alteration was made. On which I wrote to Dercom, the metropolitan, that I would accept the letter from motives of politeness; but that, in reality, I had desired nothing of them but a friendly intercourse, devoid of mistrust, and only for this purpose had communicated our doctrine, constitution, and principles to them."

I have, thirdly, to notice brother Christian Henry Rauch's voyage to New York, from whence he proceeded to visit the savages in Shekomeko.

The occasion of this mission was the intelligence of the lamentable state of the savages in North America, accompanied by an earnest request to the brethren in Europe, to compassionate these poor slaves of sin and Satan. The Count's expectations were not of a very lofty nature; the instructions he was wont to give the brethren, who ventured amongst the savages at that period, consisted chiefly in the following points:—

Secretly to observe, whether amongst the savages there were any whom God had prepared, by his grace, to listen to and receive a word concerning Jesus Christ, and our salvation by

him; with such a one they were at liberty to converse. For God must first give the heathen ears to listen to the gospel, and a heart to receive it; otherwise all the labour and pains expended upon them would be fruitless. And the Lord suffered brother Rauch to meet with those amongst the savages, to whom the preaching of the death of Jesus, its causes, and its consequences, was welcome. And these were not always the virtuous among them, but often the very worst and most corrupt: amongst these the Lord Jesus permitted the brethren to reap the fruit of their labours, and rendered it abiding.

Before the Count's departure for St. Thomas, a mission to Ceylon, in the East Indies, had been decided upon; and scarcely had he put to sea, when David Nitschman the younger arrived at Amsterdam, in order to proceed thither, with Dr. Eller, a physician from Berlin, in accordance with a previous arrangement with the Count. The East India Company, notwithstanding the "Pastoral Letter," not only gave their written consent, but also a free passage to Ceylon. At the Cape, he visited brother George Schmidt, and found him fully employed amongst the Hottentots; in which he continued, without interruption, until the year 1742. After an extremely fatiguing voyage, Nitschman and his companion arrived at Ceylon, with the intention of preaching the gospel, partly in Columbo, amongst the Malabars, and partly on the borders of Candy, amongst the Cingalese. The mission was successfully commenced, under the protection of Governor Von Imhof, and the brethren were treated in a friendly, and even brotherly manner. But when the "Pastoral Letter," in which it was stated, that "no one should so much as eat with the brethren," became known even in that remote country, the civil authorities were no longer able to protect them from the people; the Dutch clergy, who loved them, were obliged to retire, and a new governor of Columbo compelled them to return to Europe.

Of the Count's publications in 1739, notice must be taken of his "First Specimen of a Renewed Attempt to translate the New Testament of our Lord Jesus Christ;" the numerous defects and omissions of which, induced the author to withdraw it, and publish a second and revised edition.

Another work, which he also wrote on his voyage, appeared

likewise the same year, entitled, "Jeremiah, a Preacher of Righteousness;" the occasion of which was the existing state of the Lutheran church. This was, in reality, lamentable, according to the confession of many godly men, who were concerned for the ruinous state of the church. Instead of the gospel, which is the power of God unto salvation to all them that believe, human philosophy was taught. Profanity and impiety abounded amongst those who received the holy sacraments. It was utterly impossible to introduce or exercise church discipline, in the situation of things at that time, with reference to such characters. Hence, the faithful mourned, and bitterly lamented the declining state of the church. Others sat in the judgment-seat, rejected every thing, exclaimed against the church as being a Babel, and separated from it. Others, again, took the opposite side of the question, and could not comprehend why people should be so much grieved; whilst others vented their ideas respecting it, more satirically and ironically, than from sorrow of heart; and yet, with these sentiments, they entered the ministry, and exercised its functions, although regarding them as improper and perverted.

The Count was really anxious to be of service to the Lutheran church; and believing, at the same time, that most could be effected by the clergy themselves, if they only commenced the work in a proper manner, he therefore wrote this book for them, and gave them faithful advice from his own experience, how a blessing might attend their ministry.

This being premised, it is evident why the Count not only cordially entreats the clergy, as his brethren, to make the commencement with themselves,—to seek to experience the reconciliation by the blood of Jesus, in their own hearts,—to devote themselves, with body and soul, to the service of the Lord, and of those whom he has so dearly bought,—and make their own calling and election sure,—but also why he exhorts them, instead of philosophy and carnal reason, to preach the doctrine of the cross, which alone is able to restore the lost and ruined human race.

I know many instances of worthy ministers, to whom this book has been signally blest.

There also appeared in Altona, in 1739, "Singular Dia-

logues between a Traveller and various other Persons, concerning a Variety of Religious Truths." These, though published anonymously, were in reality the production of the Count; and more will be found in them than is expected from dialogues of this nature.

In the middle of December, the Count set out, with Baron Von Wattewille, on a journey to Switzerland. They went by way of Heidelberg, where the former preached from the words, "There is one amongst you whom ye know not." (John i. 26.) Persons of all denominations, and among them ecclesiastical counsellors, composed his auditory. Baron Von Wattewille wrote from Bâle, to a friend in Holland, under date 28th December, as follows:—"Our dear Count required a journey on account of his health, and the Lord has directed it to Switzerland, and appointed me his travelling companion, which I could not refuse, as soon as I clearly recognised his will in the matter. His health improves daily, notwithstanding much outward inconvenience; and the journey has hitherto succeeded very well, and will doubtless prove of advantage to Switzerland. He preached with much unction at Heidelberg; and we have hitherto performed our journey, mostly on foot, very happily, and with a sense of the presence of the Saviour."

They left Bâle without making themselves known, or visiting their acquaintances: but when a friend of theirs heard that they had been there, he hastened after them, overtook them, and was useful in enabling them to prosecute their journey more conveniently. They rode on horseback from Berne to Montmirail, but missed their way on a hill, and were in danger of completely losing themselves in the wood. The slight track they were pursuing lost itself at length, and another, which they attempted to follow, led down a steep declivity, which, being quite covered with ice, was extremely dangerous. In this dilemma, they called upon the Lord; and immediately a boy came out of the thicket, who showed them the way to the next village. In this manner they arrived on New Year's day, at Montmirail.

They next visited old Baron Von Wattewille, in St. Jean, who was not less rejoiced to see the Count than his son; for at the time when they were both studying in Halle, and covenanted

with each other to serve the Saviour, he had become cordially attached to the Count, and subsequently cherished this feeling by corresponding with him. In Diesbach, they visited Samuel Lucius, an eminent, useful, and pious clergyman, who was also much attached to the Count, and gave him a very cordial reception. In Berne, both the magistracy and the clergy manifested a laudable zeal for the Saviour's cause; and with respect to the pious people there, the many tears they shed, on parting with the Count and the Baron, clearly showed how much they esteemed their visit. On their return, they found, in Bâle, a considerable number of united souls, in whom the grace of God powerfully manifested itself. In various other places also, the successful labours of the clergy, and the obvious influence of the gospel on individuals, afforded the Count a subject for thankfulness and joy.

The following extract from a letter to a friend, will put the reader in possession of the Count's views:—

"With regard to my general plan, I have none in reality, but follow my Saviour from year to year, and gladly do what I find incumbent upon me. I have sometimes a particular object in view for a year or two, to which I am brought by the thing itself. Thus it is my plan to preserve the Moravian church, which has arisen without me, for the Saviour, so that during my lifetime, and even long after, no wolf may be able to seize it; as also to seek out as many of the heathen as I can, and to see whether they can receive the benefit of the blood which was shed for the sins of the world. It is also my aim to assist in executing, as much as possible, the Saviour's last will, expressed in John xvii., in order that the scattered children of God may everywhere be brought, not into the Moravian, against which I rather strive, but into the universal bond of fellowship, into which the *Secta Moravica* must also finally merge. I further strive to bring as many souls as I am able, to a sense of their sinfulness and the grace of Jesus: hence I love the pulpit, and would travel for its sake fifty German miles; and finally, I have laboured to unite all the children of God who do not dwell together; but this object, which I have followed uninterruptedly from 1717 to 1739, I now give up, because I not only see no means of executing

it, but, on the contrary, begin to perceive in it a mystery of Divine Providence."

The Count returned to Marienborn from his Swiss journey, with Baron Von Wattewille, on the 1st of February. I had there the opportunity of seeing him again, after my return from North America, and was always near him. What occurred at that period, is still fresh and present to my mind.

He continued in Marienborn until the beginning of June 1740, when he took his departure with others of the brethren for Gotha, for the purpose of holding a synod there; and after his return, he remained in Wetteravia until the end of the year.

In noticing his writings at this period, I must first mention the Watchwords for the year. The next thing he wrote, but which does not appear to have been sent to the press, was entitled, "Short and Simple Reflections on Death-bed Conversions, &c." Thirdly, "Specimen of a Doctrinal Treatise for the Moravian Church." The Count projected this book on his West India voyage, the intention of which was, to give a clear idea of what was taught by the brethren, as an antidote to the various erroneous statements made respecting it. The work was drawn up in a catechetical form. The answers are passages of Scripture, and the questions mostly formed from the substance of these passages. The book comprehends every point of Christian doctrine taught, up to that period, in the renovated Moravian church. A copy of it was sent to Mr. Jablonsky, at that time senior bishop of the brethren, and another to the archbishop of Canterbury.

When the Count visited England in 1741, and waited upon that venerable prelate, on which occasion I had the honour to accompany him, the archbishop testified how much he had been pleased with the little book, which has also subsequently appeared in English. A copy of the latter was likewise transmitted to Dr. Wilson, bishop of Sodor and Man; and this godly and venerable prelate, who was a true friend of the brethren, received it with much affection.*

* The Count's Berlin Discourses also appeared in English in 1740, with a dedication to the English clergy.

Scarcely had the work appeared in print, when a variety of harsh and unfriendly critiques were issued against it; and these occasioned the Count to explain himself further, upon some points.

He also published a sermon in 1740, "On the Mystery of Religion," preached at Gelnhausen, to a large and particularly attentive auditory.

"The Catechism for the Heathen" must also be noticed, which the Count wrote towards the close of the year, for the purpose of pointing out to the brethren labouring amongst the heathen, upon what subjects they ought chiefly to treat, in their public discourses to the heathen: which are no other than the fundamental truths of the gospel; the entire corruption of human nature; reconciliation by the blood of Christ; faith in him; love to him; salvation through him, &c.

The intended departure for North America, of Bishop David Nitschman and the female elder, Anna Nitschman, occasioned a synod of the brethren in June (1740). It being desirable that it should be held in Gotha, due inquiry was previously made of the duke, and afterwards of the consistory: on which the synod was opened in the customary manner, on the 12th of June, under a sense of the nearness of the Saviour's presence. At this synod, amongst other matters more immediately relating to the Moravian church, the Lord's dealings with reference to it were called to mind, whence it clearly appeared, that he had distinguished it by tokens of his especial favour, having by his singular providence so ordered it, that first of all, David Nitschman, and then the Count, were ordained bishops of that church; whereby the episcopal succession, which had been preserved in it, even during the most trying seasons, had now descended to the brethren, who adhered to the Augsburg confession.

On this occasion, the Count stated, that he had the most weighty reasons for divesting himself of the administration of that office, even as, from the commencement, he had not intended to retain it for a constancy; for it was very obvious, that not only a great many divines, but politicians also, entertained

apprehensions respecting the Moravian church, as long as he appeared as its bishop. The dreadful accusations against him, in which, not only much misunderstanding, but also a personal aversion prevailed, and which could not be removed for the time, were the most palpable proofs of it. If, under such circumstances, he still continued a bishop of the Moravian church, nothing was more certain, than that the latter, which had been hitherto regarded with much affection, by the most eminent individuals of the Protestant religion, must suffer from it: but, that if he laid down this office, and became a free servant of Jesus Christ, the Moravian church would have nothing to endure on his account, but the storm would only be directed against himself. He therefore requested, that another bishop might be chosen in his stead; at the same time engaging to continue his services in behalf of the church, according to his ability, and with Divine aid; nor by this step did he intend to withdraw himself, either from preaching the gospel or administering the holy sacraments.

Several of the members of the synod were not of the same opinion with the Count. They thought that the Moravian church, so long as it sought nothing else than how it might please Christ, and carry on his work, would as little escape the hatred of those who did not love him, as the Count. However, the synod, after much discusssion, were at length willing to proceed to the election of another bishop, and their choice fell upon Polycarp Müller, formerly director of the gymnasium at Zittau.

The attention of the synod was afterwards directed to the works hitherto published; when it was unanimously decided, that the Moravian church and its peculiar doctrines were to be judged of by no other writings than such as received their common and synodal assent. With respect to the harsh censures and accusations, which had been hitherto published against the brethren, and the Count in particular, it was evident that they were replete with numberless false statements. The Count, however, thought, that we ought first to see whether we were not in some respects in fault; and this occasioned a very candid discussion, such as became the children of God. The Count made the commencement, as it regarded himself and the faults committed by him; and the rest of the brethren

did the same. It appearing that Dr. Franké of Halle, and those of his party, had just cause of complaint, in some respects, against the brethren, it was deemed proper sincerely to ask their forgiveness. Two respectable brethren were therefore deputed by the synod, and a letter was given them, drawn up by the Count in the name of that assembly; but on coming to Halle to execute their commission, they were not listened to.

After the Count's return from the synod at Gotha, Polycarp Müller was consecrated bishop of the Moravian church. The following day, Bishop Nitschman took leave of the members of the church, previous to his departure for America. Anna Nitschman had already laid down her office of female elder, which she had worthily filled for ten years; and accompanied her aged and venerable father, who was also called David Nitschman, and who, after having been imprisoned for the Lord's sake, had been wondrously delivered from his bonds. Another sister also went with them. The object of their voyage was, if possible, to do something for the Saviour and the good of souls, especially amongst the Friends, or Quakers. The Lord did not put the willingness and devotedness of his handmaid to shame; for she was really made very useful in America, amongst those of her own sex. She was, however, much missed by the churches in Europe, and especially by the Count, who, in the ten years of her official capacity, had consulted her particularly with respect to the affairs of the sisters, and had transacted almost every thing through her concerning them. Nor would he have been able to take upon himself the spiritual charge of the female members of the church, offered him again by the synod at Gotha, had not sister Anna Maria Lowatsch undertaken the office of female elder, during the absence of Anna Nitschman, with whom he was able to communicate in every thing respecting the affairs of the female choirs.

The accusations brought against the brethren, about this time, from the pulpit and the press, were so monstrous and incredible, that a great number of persons could not believe them, and deemed it incumbent upon them to make further inquiry. Thus persons of all ranks and professions came, in order to see and hear for themselves. On finding, frequently,

the very opposite of the things of which the brethren were accused, they took the part of the latter, and were often angry with their opponents. If real persecution ensued, they were the sooner led to think, that if the people who were so much opposed to the brethren, possessed the spirit and mind of Jesus Christ, they would not employ carnal weapons, but show themselves as children of God, with reference to the confirmation of the truth.

Hence, neither the Count nor the church were able to prevent the concourse of people, who came to them from all parts; most of whom had no temporal advantage in view, but only the Saviour and his divine truth. I know, to a certainty, that very many of those who came to visit us, experienced the operation of the Holy Spirit, both in the meetings and in private intercourse. Persons came that year from England, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Livonia, Switzerland, and many parts of Germany. This soon rendered Herrnhaag a flourishing place, and increased the number of its inhabitants.

The Count saw this concourse of people not without pain; for he was firmly of opinion, that the Saviour's cause would be more promoted, if those who were decidedly pious remained where they were, and either taught in words or by their good example, than if all such forsook their own people, and sought outward fellowship with the brethren.

But when he observed, in particular instances, that he could not prevent it, and that it was better for some to join the Moravians than to suffer injury themselves, and be of no use to others, he did not object to their reception, but, on the contrary, thanked the Saviour that there were churches where such poor people might take refuge who derived no benefit from their own religious establishments, and were thus prevented from becoming Separatists; he therefore cordially received such persons, who thus came to him from all quarters.

At this time he had to minister to two different places in Wetteravia,—the castle of Marienborn, where he resided with his family and dependants, who constituted his domestic church; and Herrnhaag, an entirely new settlement, just beginning to rise into existence.

If he could have commenced at Herrnhaag as he did at

Herrnhut, the result would probably have been different: but as this was not practicable, the consequences were painful.

Meanwhile his labours were divided between Herrnhaag and Marienborn, which was certainly very fatiguing, since they lay about four miles distant from each other.

On the 6th July, regulations were agreed upon by the council of the church, which it was resolved to lay before the church at a general meeting.

At this meeting, the brethren and sisters who were appointed to take charge of their respective choirs, received the customary benediction. The building of a house for the single brethren, who had been hitherto scattered, proceeded so rapidly, that they were able to enter it on the 15th November, and the Count devoted much of his attention to them.

His heart was this year like a fountain, from which many edifying hymns proceeded, which were composed chiefly at the time of singing them.

The visits of strangers becoming increasingly numerous, the Count found it necessary to fix an hour every day for their reception, and for the purpose of conversing with them. On these occasions they were at liberty, either to make inquiries or state their objections, and the necessary information was given them.

The Count was particularly gratified by the visit of Mr. Von Heynitz, one of the judges of the chancery-court at Wetzlar. They had been intimate with each other at the universities; and when the latter heard of the Count's residence at Marienborn, he wrote to him, and subsequently visited him there. He remained with him from the 5th to the 11th August, with the intention of becoming thoroughly acquainted with the brethren. The Count, who was well pleased with it, afforded him every opportunity of obtaining a perfect insight into the doctrine, constitution, and practice of the Moravian church. Hence he let every thing pursue its ordinary course, and took him with him to all the conferences.

The number of brethren and sisters who at that time resided with the Count, was considerable; there were also several others whom he received, in hopes of their deriving benefit from it. Amongst all these he endeavoured to keep due order.

For this purpose he occasionally used domestic discipline, when certain circumstances required it, of which the following is an instance:—He had taken a young man into his house at Marienborn, in the hope that it would be beneficial to his soul: but because he acted improperly, he ordered him to be shut up in a small room. A worthless neighbour intimated to this man, that he could procure his liberty if he wished it; but received such an answer as made him ashamed of himself. The Count, meanwhile, commissioned one of the brethren to visit him frequently, and speak affectionately to him, in order that the discipline might benefit him; and he attained his object.

On the 10th December, several individuals were received into the church; from whence it was evident, that the Holy Spirit gathered together people of all nations, who sought salvation by Christ, and made them partakers of the grace bestowed upon the church: for of seven brethren who were then received, one was from Poland, another from Hungary, a third from Switzerland, a fourth from England, a fifth from Sweden, a sixth from Livonia, and the seventh from Germany.

The Count regarded it as improper, that the brethren should proceed to any place to which they were not called: nor was it necessary; for applications were made for brethren and sisters from so many different places, that it was difficult to comply with them all. This was particularly the case with Livonia, and many were sent thither in 1740.

The Count also published that year, "The Sentiments of the Moravian Church respecting its past and future Labours amongst the Savages, Slaves, and other Heathens." This treatise was intended to meet the various objections to the conversion of the heathen, which were made to the Count during his residence in Holland, England, and the West Indies.

It would be going beyond our limits to mention every thing the Count undertook this year, with reference to the missions amongst the heathen. I will only notice, that he was particularly anxious that the mission in Greenland should fully participate in the growth of the church in grace, and the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. To this end he sent Andrew Grasman and John Schneider, on a visitation to Greenland, and

was very attentive to Matthew Stach, who had returned from thence.

In the beginning of September, the Count was attacked by an illness, which lasted till the end of November. He regarded it as a paternal chastisement, which he had drawn down upon himself, on an occasion when he had mistaken his Lord's will. The attacks were so violent, that it was supposed they would cost him his life. However, he recovered, and communicated with the church again on the 26th of November.

Another synod was held at Marienborn, from the 5th to the 31st of December, respecting which, the Count was wont to assert that there had been none like it, either before or since. One of its chief objects was, unity in doctrine; and the Count had the pleasure to see, that with respect to this, they became more and more assured and unanimous.

The public attacks which were made upon the Count in 1740, were carried to a great length, not only in the Lutheran and Reformed church, but also amongst the Separatists, and those who termed themselves inspired; there were those who assailed him through the medium of the press, and that often, in such a manner as was utterly inconsistent with justice and moderation, truth and love; nay, they even descended to calumnies and revilings.

It was not the suffering for Christ's sake, which particularly pained him on these occasions. He once expressed himself, in my presence, as follows:—"If I only please my Saviour, I am satisfied; those who do not love him, although they constituted the whole world, may oppose me as they please." But there were other reasons which caused him much pain, with reference to these controversies. He was first of all afraid, lest people should be found, who really began to teach what was unjustly ascribed to him. Next, that even the fundamental truths of the gospel which he professed, were placed in a suspicious light by his opponents; and lastly, that many of the hearers of such preachers, and who continued to observe the ordinances of the church, should, nevertheless, believe their clergyman to be a liar; and think in their hearts, "We now know for a certainty, that what the man says of these people is not true."

The Count was still accustomed to read to the church such of his adversaries' writings as had reference merely to himself: but at length the brethren restrained him from doing so, and would no longer permit him to occupy their time with such libels.

He seriously thought at first, that it would be best to give no public reply to the violent attacks of his opponents, and, under this impression, he printed a declaration, entitled, "Reasons why Count Zinzendorf has published nothing at the Easter Fair, 1749: in reply to the recent attacks upon him." However, he subsequently found it necessary to make an exception in certain points, and he therefore published the same year a further declaration, respecting the real doctrine and practice of the Moravian church.

I have still to observe, with reference to his domestic life, that on the 25th of April, the Countess was delivered of a daughter, who the same day received the ordinance of baptism, according to the regulation then prevailing in the Moravian church, to administer it as soon after the birth as possible. The Count baptized the child himself, and called it Elizabeth.

On the 3d of September, he caused the remains of his son, Christian Louis, which had been only interred *ad interim*, to be deposited in the burial-ground of the brethren.

The Countess undertook a journey to Herrnhut on the 23d of September, and returned on the 5th of November.

The Count having the intention of proceeding to Switzerland in January, 1741, made the necessary arrangements, both at Herrnhaag and Marienborn. On the last day for prayer, which the Count had appointed, previous to his departure for Geneva, letters and intelligence were communicated from Holland, England, Denmark, Norway, North America, the West Indies, Livonia, Silesia, Switzerland, and many parts of Germany. It was evident from them, that there were people in all these places who sincerely sought their salvation in the sufferings and merits of Christ. There were also several things in them, that afforded the Count particular pleasure; for instance, the liberation of his friend Von Seidlitz from imprisonment at Jauer, where he had been confined eighteen months, merely because he had preached Jesus Christ, as the only way of life, to every one who attended his private meetings.

Further, the success the brethren met with, in preaching to the most stupid of the heathen, which exceeded all expectation.

At the close of this general meeting, the congregation knelt down before the Lord, and the Count commended to him his whole church, with all its concerns, in fervent prayer.

The occasion of this journey to Switzerland and Geneva, was the idea, that his eldest son, Christian Renatus, should prosecute his studies for a time at Geneva; in which case it might be useful if he went with him, inspected every thing on the spot, and then formed his resolution. Finding no objection to this, he reflected further, whether, on this occasion, he should not bear a simple testimony to the Genevese church, where formerly the great John Calvin had taught, respecting the present state of the brethren, their doctrine and constitution; and this suggested the idea of taking with him a number of the brethren and sisters, on his visit to the friends in Switzerland. He conferred upon all these points with his immediate assistants, and especially with his gracious Lord; and, in the confidence that it was acceptable to him, resolved, not only to go with his son to Geneva, but also to take a company of the brethren and sisters with him.

After deciding upon the persons who were to accompany him, and having cordially united with them in a love-feast, the Countess, with her daughter Salome, and two other ladies, took their departure on the 24th of January, for Geneva.

The young Count was accompanied by John Nitschman, one of the elders of the church, Mr. Von Gersdorf, and others.

On the 9th of February, Mr. Von Peistel followed, with a company of learned men, and on the 13th, the physician, with some married people.

On the 22d, the Count himself left Marienborn, and had with him amongst others, Matthew Stach, and the two female elders, Anna Maria Lowatsch, and Anna Linner.

Finally, brother Jacob Till, with some youths, who were also proceeding to Geneva, set out on their way thither.

In the beginning of March, therefore, his household in Geneva was complete, and consisted, in all, of from forty to fifty persons. The Count himself, with the Countess and children, with those whom he wished to have near him,

resided in the *Plein Palais;* the rest were divided into other houses, according to their several choirs.

The Count's residence, therefore, constituted a little church in Geneva, with all its different choirs. Each choir held first its own matins. The whole church then came together, and the Count generally gave them an address. At eight o'clock in the evening they again assembled, and edified each other with singing: on which a Bible lesson followed with some of the learned brethren, at which others were also present. Afterwards the brethren and sisters assembled, who divided the hours with each other, from four in the morning till midnight, for intercession and converse with the Lord. At the same time, there was an evening service for those who were not of that company; and from twelve till four o'clock, there was a night-watch for prayer, which was held by the brethren in turns. Besides this, the members of this domestic assembly were divided into little companies, according to their sex, and the choirs to which they belonged, for the purpose of promoting their love to each other, and their advancement in the divine life.

The singularity of this wandering church caused it to be much visited, and that not without a blessing. The brethren and sisters, who had thus the opportunity of seeing their friends again, made it their chief concern to testify of Christ to every one, and refer every thing to him. Mr. Von Gersdorf, in particular, was a very courageous witness of the grace of God in Christ, which he had only a short time before experienced in his heart; and he was so well received by persons of all ranks, that little time was left him from his blessed occupation.

The Count, with reference to the church in his house, continued every thing in the same manner as in the Moravian settlements; such as the administration of the sacraments, general meetings, conferences, &c.

It also happened, though rarely, that one or another of his friends was permitted to be present at his domestic meetings, which, however, he would not, by any means, suffer to be regarded as any thing else than private and family devotions.

The Count found opportunity of forming an intimacy with

many of the literati of Geneva: amongst them, there were a number of able, intelligent, and excellent men, so far as regards human attainments. But no sooner did he speak to them upon that knowledge of Jesus Christ, which is attained, not by our own power and reason, but is wrought by the Holy Spirit, than the words of Paul became obvious to him: "Not many wise men after the flesh, but the weak things of this world hath God chosen." If he had sought to please men, he would have accommodated himself to their sentiments, and have spoken in such a manner of Christ Jesus, as would have agreed with their philosophical and human invented maxims and systems. However, he was not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, but boldly and sincerely avowed his belief in all that the prophets and apostles have written of him, and in what is learnt in the school of the Holy Spirit, when we suffer ourselves to be guided by him into all truth.

From his letters, written at that time, I perceive that the professors and pastors of Geneva treated him with much respect: for, although they had the polemical works in their hands, which blamed the Count for so many things, and endeavours were made to excite them to suspicion against him, by unkind letters from a variety of places, yet they did not let this prevent them from associating candidly with him, and hearing all he had to say. There were also several, who clearly perceived that the doctrines held by the Count and the brethren were nothing new, but perfectly in accordance with the Protestant confession.

But the Count was not satisfied with verbally testifying to the divines in Geneva, of the truth as it is in Jesus; he resolved to do it likewise in writing. For this purpose he addressed a letter, in French, to the Genevese church, entitled, "Lettre sur l'Eglise des Frères, leur Origine, leur Histoire, leur Discipline, et leur Croyance, addressée à la venerable Compagnie des Messieurs les Pasteurs et Professeurs de l'Eglise de Genève," in which he expressed himself as copiously as the subject required, and yet with all the brevity in his power.

This letter, which was presented to three of the clergy in the name of the Moravian church, was well received by the pastors and professors of Geneva; and a respectable deputation was

appointed to return their sincere thanks for it to the Count, as bishop of the Moravian church. This was done by Mr. Mallet, moderator of the ecclesiastical board and academy, who visited the Count at his lodgings, on the 14th May, where Mr. Vernet, the rector of the university, Mr. Lullin, pastor and professor of ecclesiastical history, and Mr. Nëckar, one of the council of two hundred, and professor of civil law, had also met. Mr. Mallet, in the name of the whole of the clergy and professors in Geneva, informed him how pleasing it was to them that the Moravian church, and their bishop, had thought proper to deposit with them such a valuable document of the history of their faith and constitution, the truth of which they could the less question, having themselves had opportunity of becoming personally acquainted with the Count, and of witnessing his prudent and holy deportment, accompanied with apostolic zeal; at the same time they wished that his labours and efforts for the honour of our Saviour, King, and Master, might always be attended with happy results, until the whole earth became full of the glory of the Lord. They also added many good wishes for himself, his consort, and his family.

During the Count's stay in Geneva, he published the Watchwords for the previous year, in the French language, and dedicated the work to Mr. Vernet and Mr. Lullin, above mentioned.

He also made a new collection of hymns, composed on various occasions by the members of the church; and laboured, also, at another similar collection, which, however, he did not entirely complete.

It happened, on one occasion, that one of the professors expressed himself very beautifully in company, respecting our Lord and Saviour; on which the Count rose up, fell on his neck, and thanked him most cordially for it; for he was concerned for nothing so much as that our Lord Jesus Christ might be properly known and duly honoured.

When Professor Vernet showed him St. Peter's church, one of the principal divines led him to a stall, in order that he might sit down; on which he said, "Your Lordship is now sitting in the very place where Calvin was wont to sit."

It was once asked in the council of two hundred, whether

the Republic had no unpleasantness to apprehend from the residence of the Count and his followers in Geneva? On which the chief syndic took occasion to explain himself so fully, that every one acquiesced in his view of the subject.

A wish to ascend one of the neighbouring hills, brought the Count, and some of the brethren with him, into a dangerous situation; for the path was narrow, with steep declivities on both sides, which might easily have caused him giddiness. But one of the company, in order to lead off his thoughts to some other subject, purposely began to converse with him in such a manner as to prevent him from fully perceiving the danger; and thus, through mercy, no evil ensued.

Not long after his arrival in Geneva, he was attacked by fever; which, however, soon left him, and he gradually regained the strength lost by his West India voyage.

During the last week of his stay in Geneva, he received the awakened individuals there, to whom the visits of the brethren had been profitable, and spoke with them in French, for which they were very thankful. He also gave them good advice, as to the arrangements they ought to make for their further mutual edification; and his address was accompanied with Divine power.

The Count also left some Latin theses in the hands of the Genevese divines, in which he very clearly expressed to them his sentiments respecting Jesus Christ, and upon the objection that the Father must not be robbed of his honour.

On the 16th May, the Count's family again broke up to return to Marienborn; on which occasion an event occurred, which might have been attended with the most serious consequences. A mob of wicked people, consisting, probably, of those who were not permitted to attend the Count's domestic meetings, collected together in a tumultuous manner, and began, on their leaving the city, to throw stones, without any thing to excite them to it, and were even ignorant themselves of what they intended by it. But this alarming event, which had more reference to the Countess and her company than to the Count, passed over without serious injury.

When the Count afterwards complained of this tumultuous affair, Mr. Leger, the moderator of the university, replied to

him, in the name of all the rest, that the senseless and improper conduct of the people was extremely displeasing to them.

The Count afterwards proceeded to Montmirail, to visit old Baron Von Wattewille; and from thence he went to Bâle, where he remained some days. He then returned with his travelling companions to Marienborn, by water, and arrived there on the 5th June. When all the brethren and sisters who had been with him in Geneva, were again assembled round him, he held a love-feast with them. During the time which he spent in Geneva, most of the brethren and sisters who had previously dwelt in Pilgerruh, near Oldeslohe in Holstein, had arrived at Herrnhaag, because they refused to remain at Pilgerruh on the prescribed conditions: but as, at the same time, remonstrances were made by some friends of the brethren, against giving up the settlement at Pilgerruh, the Count proposed a new colony, and, with this intention, sent Andrew Dober beforehand to Oldeslohe. But the consent of the superior authorities not being attainable,—arising, probably, from some misunderstanding,—those that were destined for the settlement at Pilgerruh proceeded to America. A synod of the brethren, held at London, in September of the same year, clearly stated the course of the affair, in a letter, drawn up by the Count, to the king of Denmark.

The Count having himself the intention of proceeding that year to North America, and being therefore unable to calculate upon spending more than a couple of months in Wetteravia, endeavoured to employ the time to the greatest advantage. He nevertheless seized a few days for an excursion to Wetzlar, to visit Mr. Von Heynitz, who afterwards returned his visit at Marienborn.

The most important event that occurred at this period, was the holding of a synod at Marienborn, which commenced on the 20th of June, and terminated on the 3d July. The occasion of it was the Count's intended voyage to North America.

The Count again stated at this synod, as he had already done at the one held in Gotha, that he now regarded it as necessary, that he should really resign his episcopacy.

He did not mean by this declaration, to divest himself of all the functions which he was entitled to perform in virtue of his

episcopal consecration: for he did not cease, until his end, to do every thing, as opportunity presented itself, which the vocation of a regular minister of the church of Christ requires. He not only preached the gospel and administered the holy sacraments, but also ordained preachers and deacons, and laid his hands upon many bishops on their consecration to their office.

His particular intention was as follows:—He had before him a voyage to North America, by way of Holland and England, and he wished to see there, whether, amongst the many sects with which the country was filled, he could not do something in the Saviour's cause. Besides which, he regarded himself as divinely called, in every place to which the hand of the Lord might lead him, to fill the office of a servant of Jesus Christ, who is under obligation to minister to every one. Hence he was desirous to avail himself of every opportunity to preach the gospel, both in public and in private, not only amongst Christians, but also amongst Jews and heathens.

He therefore intended only to say thus much:—"I cannot henceforth bind myself in such a manner to the Moravian church, as to make the duties of my episcopacy my sole business; but my calling, which I certainly think I have received from the Lord, and not from men, extends further;" respecting which he afterwards explains himself more fully.

The Count then proposed to the deliberation of the synod, whether it might not be necessary, besides Polycarp Müller, to ordain another bishop. The brethren had already extended themselves in Europe to such a degree, that one bishop would find it impossible, besides his other labours, duly to attend to every thing, Bishop Nitschman being already for some time in America.

The synod regarded this proposal as well founded; and proceeded to the election of another bishop, when John Nitschman, at that time chief master of the seminary, obtained the most votes.

The Count would have been better pleased, if the choice had fallen upon some other brother; for, although he had a great affection and esteem for him, yet he considered him better fitted for the more special duties of the pastoral office. He was however consecrated on the 22d of July, according to the

sense of the synod, by the imposition of hands, both of the Count and bishop Polycarp Müller. It is also remarkable, that on this occasion, the reigning Count of Isenburg-Büdingen and the prince of Würtenberg-Oehls were both present, and listened to the Count's copious address.

On the same day that Nitschman was ordained bishop, the Count had the pleasure of receiving M. Von Hermsdorf into church-fellowship, after the latter had been with him for eighteen years. It was something peculiar in the character of the Count, which induced him, on all occasions, to wait the Saviour's time, especially in reference to the conversion of individuals. He frequently had persons about him for a long time, and was well aware of their deficiencies; but he always avoided being premature, or endeavouring to force the matter. He committed the time of their gracious visitation to the Saviour, and thus he succeeded with many.

Respecting this, he says, in one of his discourses, "I am acquainted with children of God and servants of Jesus Christ (referring probably to himself), who go after a single soul for four and twenty years, and cannot rest until they are assured of its salvation—who follow a single soul through every part of the world, and win it over at last. This does not refer merely to one particular instance, for there are many. And do these people repent of their trouble? By no means, for they are abundantly rewarded for all their labour, and for all the pain which they have meanwhile to endure from the objects of their solicitude.

"But when such souls are at length won for Christ, they love very cordially, as the Saviour says respecting the sinful woman:—'Much is forgiven her, because she loveth much.' It is a pleasure to see those who, after having been long sought, are at length found."

After making every necessary arrangement for the well-being of the church in his absence, the Count left Marienborn on the 7th of August, and was accompanied as far as Frankfort by many of his fellow-labourers.

On the 12th he arrived at Utrecht, and proceeded from thence on a visit to Amsterdam, where he enjoyed much satisfaction in the company of his friends and brethren.

Some days after this, he travelled to Heerendyk, to visit the Moravian settlement at that place. He remained there until the 25th of August; and in the interval, baptized a young woman of the name of Kool, and an old man of sixty-eight years of age, called Abraham Grafman.

In the beginning of September he arrived in London, where he remained till towards the end of the month. Residing at that time in London myself, I was with him daily, and was an eye-witness of all that occurred during that period.

In order to be fully at ease respecting the churches of the Brethren in Europe, during his absence in North America, he appointed a conference with the brethren and sisters, who had been with him from the commencement as fellow-labourers. To avoid disturbance, he selected for this purpose a house in Red Lion Street, where he was not residing; and the whole attention of the conference was occupied by this important subject; so that there was nothing with respect to the whole Moravian church, which was not minutely discussed.

Leonard Dober, who had filled the office of chief elder since the year 1735, sent in his written resignation; and the business attached to the office he held, as likewise to that of the Count, was distributed amongst several individuals. The Count was requested to have his eye upon the whole of the church, and the oversight of the missions was committed to Leonard Dober.

The Count, with the assistance of his consort, had hitherto ministered to the temporal necessities of the church, not only according to, but also beyond their ability; and when it was necessary to borrow money for that purpose, it was done in the name of himself and the Countess.

But it being impossible that this could always continue, a deacon was appointed for the purpose of superintending the temporal affairs of the church. With reference to these, the Count's idea was, not that collections should be made, but that money should be borrowed, if there were not sufficient funds. He had the hope, that, with the assistance and blessing of God, ways and means would be found of paying the interest on such monies, and at length of returning them.

The deacons, however, thankfully received whatever was

voluntarily given them by friends and brethren for the purpose of meeting the expenditure; and when compelled by necessity, they borrowed, in the confidence that the brethren who had appointed them to their office would also become responsible for their proceedings.

The Count having taken a cordial leave of his beloved consort, prepared for his voyage to North America. He had the opportunity of going, either by a vessel of war, or by a merchant-ship under its convoy. Intelligent people advised him to choose one or other of these, in consequence of the war, which at that time was being carried on against Spain. But the Count preferred a merchantman which, being unarmed and sailing alone, was consequently unable to offer resistance. He was induced to this, not only because of the longer voyages generally made under convoy, but also because he would not give offence, either to the Quakers or Mennonites, who regard war as improper; since he was desirous of being useful to both these denominations.

On the 26th of September, I accompanied him to Gravesend, where he went on board on the 28th, the vessel being already under sail.

On this voyage, he was accompanied by his eldest daughter, the Countess Benigna, then about sixteen years of age, who, with the consent of her mother, was perfectly willing to undertake this voyage with her father, who expected that much good would result from it. She had received an injury on one foot, which the medical men in England regarded as so dangerous, that they talked of amputating it. However, she was perfectly healed of it by the sea voyage. Some of the brethren and sisters went with them to wait upon them.

The commencement of the voyage was this time rather tedious; for the contrary winds compelled the captain to put into several of the English harbours. Though this was unpleasant to the Count, in consequence of the delay it occasioned, yet he did not fail to make the best use of his time. He wrote from Deal, on the 1st of October, "An Address to all the Authorities under whom the Church of the Brethren reside;" his intention in which was, if possible, to induce them thoroughly to examine into the merits of the brethren's case, who were so

much exclaimed against. He also composed several hymns on the voyage.

At the end of November, the Count arrived at New York, and immediately made acquaintance with some individuals, who were concerned for their salvation. He held meetings with them, and, through divine grace, they united with each other in love. Others also made their appearance, who only acted as spies; these the Count addressed in severe terms, and sent them away.

He visited some friends in Long Island, and Captain Nicholas Garrison, with whom he had become acquainted in St. Thomas, on Staten Island. He then proceeded to Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania, where people of all denominations and of various countries reside. Here he hired a house, in order to regulate every thing as the cause he wished to serve demanded.

He informed Governor Thomas of his arrival, by letter; in which he expressly desired him to send some one, who was acquainted with both English and German, to be present at his meetings. By this means, he successfully prevented any suspicion which might have been excited in the government towards him, in consequence of the charges so inexcusably brought against him. He then travelled into the country, and visited all those places where Germans had settled, in order that he might himself hear and see how the case stood with respect to religion, amongst the various sects and parties in Pennsylvania. Wherever opportunity was afforded him, he witnessed a good confession of Jesus Christ, and his sufferings and merits, as the sole ground of our hope.

He also travelled to the district called the Forks of the Delaware, where some people were still residing. He there found, not only the brethren and sisters who had left Georgia, because of the disturbances which had arisen there on the apprehension of an attack from the Spaniards: but also David Nitschman, who, with his daughter Anna, the female elder, and bishop David Nitschman, had been for some time in Pennsylvania, together with the brethren who had been destined to the mission amongst the Indians.

They were occupied in building a house on the Lehigh, an

arm of the Delaware; and possessed also, ten miles northward, a piece of land to which baronial rights appertained, which George Whitefield had purchased of William Allen, and afterwards sold again, after having laid the foundation for a large stone building, which he called Nazareth, from which the barony now takes its name.

When the brethren and sisters who had accompanied the Count, as well as various awakened individuals who sought fellowship with the brethren, had joined those just mentioned, it caused no small joy to the Count, to have about him such a number of people who loved the Saviour, in a part of the country which at that time presented a very wild appearance.

He spoke with them collectively and individually, and afterwards partook of the sacrament with them. He there also celebrated Christmas with them; and the solemnities on that occasion were so blessed, as to continue ever memorable to all who were present. They were held in a house, which was afterwards made into a stable—having no better at the time—which gave occasion to call the place Bethlehem. Both Bethlehem and Nazareth have since that time become flourishing Moravian settlements.

He next travelled to Oly, to visit some awakened people there, to whom one of the brethren ministered in holy things; and addressed them from the words—"The Lord opened the heart of Lydia." From thence he proceeded to Ephratah, where a species of Baptists resides, to speak with their preachers respecting one of the brethren who had gone over to them; for he wished to know the bottom of the affair. After gaining his end, he set out on his return, and arrived on the 30th of December in Germantown, a small place about five miles from Philadelphia, chiefly built and inhabited by Germans. The following day, he was requested to preach in the Reformed church, and accordingly did so, from the words, "Without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness; God manifest in the flesh." Many came to hear him, who seldom attended church, and the rest of his auditory consisted of persons of various denominations; but they all listened with uncommon attention, and many received the word with tears. After this, he immediately returned to Philadelphia, where he found his

household in good order, and every thing going on in its desired course.

There were, at that time, in Pennsylvania, upwards of a hundred thousand Germans. Many of them dwelt in Philadelphia, Germantown, and Lancaster; the rest were scattered about the country, and lived chiefly by agriculture.

The hopes of enjoying perfect liberty of conscience, which was not afforded them in Germany, had induced many to emigrate with their families to Pennsylvania. Others followed them, from having heard that Pennsylvania was a country where an industrious man might easily maintain himself. Those that were there, increased astonishingly, and became numerous families.

Many thousands of these people concerned themselves so little about religion, that it had become proverbial, respecting any one who cared not for God and his word, that "he was of the Pennsylvanian religion."

A few of the Lutherans wrote repeatedly to Germany for a preacher; but many years passed over without one, because they did not mention at the same time what salary he was to have; and word was even sent them, that none would be provided, unless they determined his salary beforehand. They had, however, hired a barn in Philadelphia, which they fitted up for the purpose of holding their meetings in it, and where they were addressed, or had something read to them, by any one they could procure. The Reformed had built a small church in Germantown, and in Philadelphia they made use of the barn, by turns with the Lutherans, for their meetings. In Germantown, a pious mechanic, who resided there, was their preacher; and in Philadelphia, a man from the country, of the name of Boehme, who had previously been a schoolmaster.

Besides the Lutherans and Reformed, there were nine different sects amongst the Germans in Pennsylvania; all of whom were so bigoted to their own opinions, that they not only preferred their own way to every other, but spoke harshly of those who differed from them. They despised the Lutherans and Reformed in particular; not only because there was so little animation in their meetings, but also because there was so much of what was objectionable in their life and conduct.

Hence, those Germans who were in any degree concerned about religion, felt the sooner induced to join one or other of these sects, in preference to attending the meetings of the Lutherans and the Reformed.

Besides the five nations of the Indians, who resided either in part in Pennsylvania, or on its borders, or else trafficked with its inhabitants, and were called by the French, 'Iroquois,'—there were also their Indian allies, and the nations they had subdued. The former stood in intimate connexion at that time with Pennsylvania; and at certain appointed seasons, great numbers of them, with their wives and children, came to Pennsylvania. The brethren had already begun to preach the gospel amongst some of these tribes, and it had been well received by them.

The nations above mentioned are not very numerous, but each has its peculiar language, and this renders preaching and pastoral duties among them difficult. Some of them, who bordered on the province of New York, understood Dutch, which, previous to its occupation by the English, was more currently spoken than the latter language. Others, who often resided amongst the English, and trafficked with them, were able to understand a little English.

Such was the field of labour which presented itself to the Count, who, believing that it would take at least a year to cultivate it, if an abiding blessing were to be expected, resolved to devote that space of time to it. But in order to avoid the abuse he had incurred in Europe, he appeared under the name of Mr. Von Thürnstein, and made it every where known, that he would not, and could not, make use of his titles in Pennsylvania. For this purpose, he delivered a solemn address in Latin, on the 26th of May, in the governor's house, in which he stated the reasons for his wishing to lay aside his rank, and the troublesomeness attendant upon it.

Besides the governor of the province, there were present on this occasion the principal people in the country, both clergy and laity; amongst the latter were William Allen, James Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin, Eneas Ross, &c.

If the Count had been desirous of acting according to human wisdom, he would have had nothing to do with the

Lutherans in that country, because they were people who only disgraced their denomination. But he thought otherwise; and, being heartily attached to the doctrines of that church, he professed his adherence to them there, and was the less inclined to withdraw himself from them, the worse they were, and the greater the disrepute in which they stood.

The Lutherans in Philadelphia, having had the opportunity of frequently hearing the Count in the meetings he held in his own house, and finding that his doctrine accorded with that of their church, requested him to preach for them in the place of worship above mentioned. But before signifying his consent, he wrote to Mr. Boehme, the Reformed preacher, informing him of the circumstance, and inquiring if he had any just cause of objection to it. The latter having replied in the negative, the Count hesitated no longer to accept the offer, but preached to the Lutherans regularly every Sunday morning. But on their requesting him, in February, to administer the Sacrament to them, he could not make up his mind to do so, and informed them that he must decline it for the time; for although his principles were Lutheran, yet he was not altogether satisfied with the practice of the Lutherans.

It happened, however, after many beneficial effects had been previously produced by his preaching, that on Palm Sunday the whole Lutheran assembly, it might almost be said, without exception, were brought, during the sermon, to such a conviction of their sinfulness, and such a believing apprehension of the Saviour, that the Count was obliged abruptly to conclude his discourse, because no one could hear or speak any more for weeping; on which, the deeply-affected preacher promised to administer the Sacrament to them on Easter Monday, if he found that the emotions then produced were not of a mere transitory nature;—and it proved a blessed opportunity.

On this, the whole of the German Lutherans in and about Philadelphia came to an unanimous decision to choose him for their minister. He first let them meet, and then laid some questions before them,—whether they were of one mind,—whether they had any other clergyman,—whether they possessed full confidence in him,—whether they would follow his advice,—whether they would act sincerely and candidly with

him,—and the like. After they had answered these questions in writing, to his full satisfaction, he did not feel disinclined to negociate further with them.

He first read to them the words of Luther, in which he shows the difference between the usual divine worship, in which the gospel is preached to the people, and their conversion is endeavoured to be effected, without their being previously brought into any evangelical order,—and such a regulation, by which those who love the Saviour covenant with each other to live entirely according to the mind of Christ, and to regard each other as members of the same body; and asked them if it were their wish to act according to the principles laid down by that eminent servant of God? and if they had no objection to do so? He then gave them some time for reflection; and at length accepted the call, on the Second Sunday after Easter.

At the close of the call, they observed, that knowing the Count could not always remain with them, in consequence of which he had proposed to them the Rev. John Christopher Pyrlæus, they did not hesitate to promise the latter, in this case, that he should succeed the Count.

On this, a species of ecclesiastical regulations was drawn up, on the basis of Luther's own words; these they took into consideration, and after some weeks declared that they felt no scruple in agreeing to them all.

The Count now provided the two Lutheran congregations, in Philadelphia and Tolpihacon, with regular teachers, as they desired; and at the same time took care that the children should be duly instructed. And because many of the Lutherans were scattered about the country, he commissioned some persons to visit them and preach the gospel to them. These individuals devoted themselves, for the time, entirely to those of the Lutheran confession; and their ministry in the gospel did not remain without a blessing.

Having thus provided against the continuance of the poor people in ignorance—which in many cases was greater than can be imagined—he next proposed, that those who had been called and awakened by the gospel, should be formed into little companies or churches, according to Luther's directions,

have the sacraments administered to them, and be brought into regular order.

The gospel was then publicly preached to these little congregations, at which any one might be present; no one, however, was admitted to the sacrament, but those who evidenced the operation of the Holy Spirit on their hearts.

The Count having thus not only provided the two Lutheran churches above mentioned, but also several others of the same denomination, with teachers and preachers, and the latter, as well as their congregations, applying to him on every occasion when they needed advice, he became, in the literal acceptation of the word, the Lutheran Inspector, or Superintendent, in Pennsylvania.

During these labours, two or three events occurred, which caused him much grief.

He was disturbed, with his beloved Lutherans, in the quiet use of the place of worship above mentioned, in a shameful manner. Some wicked people, who called themselves Reformed, burst tumultuously into the church one Sunday, when the Lutheran congregation were holding their divine service, tore Pyrlaeus out of the pulpit, dragged him out of the church, and kicked him; they then took entire possession of the church, although, according to the agreement made with the Lutherans, they were to have it only every fourth Sunday for themselves and their divine service.

This contract had not been infringed upon by the Lutherans; but the people, as it was pretty well ascertained, were incited to it by others.

The congregation offered no resistance to the tumultuous mob, any more than their preacher; the latter went quietly home, and his hearers followed his example.

The Count, who was absent at the time, thought it necessary, on his return, to remonstrate seriously with the people, and to complain of this illegal and culpable conduct to the magistrates. At the same time, however, he resolved to build a new church, made the necessary preparations for it, and had the satisfaction to consecrate it before his departure.

The next unpleasant circumstance was, that a Lutheran preacher arrived from Germany, and began to act against the

Count. For though the Lutherans in Pennsylvania had been left without a preacher, notwithstanding their repeated request, yet a different view was taken of the subject after the Count had devoted himself to them. By this means, a separation took place amongst the Lutherans. The newly arrived clergyman, who was an able and talented man, soon formed a party; whilst those to whom the Count's ministry had been blessed, adhered to him. The result at length was this,—that the Count thought it best to let the preacher above mentioned, and his subsequent assistants, act as they pleased; being satisfied if only Christ were preached.

Besides what the Count accomplished for the Lutheran church, the efforts he made in behalf of the other religious sects must be mentioned. The occasion of it was a conference commenced by them at that time, to which the Count was also invited. The members of this conference consisted of deputies from the pious people of all the various sects in that part of America; and its object was, if possible, to promote a closer approximation to each other, if not in doctrine yet in love, in order that all judging and condemning of each other might be done away.

At this synod, which was held at seven successive periods, the Count occupied a prominent position. "At the first synod," says he, "I was compelled, contrary to expectation, to take the place of an accused person, and defend myself against severe accusations brought against me by each of the sects in particular. All at once I rose so rapidly in their esteem, that at the second meeting of the synod I was unanimously chosen Syndic."

It is matter of astonishment, how the Count, who in virtue of this office had to preside at the synod and maintain order in it, could accomplish it amongst people of such different religious sentiments. But yet every thing went well, and truth remained victorious, notwithstanding every fanatical assault.

On becoming better acquainted with the people he had before him, he perceived very clearly that he had to do with two kinds of persons: some were modest, intelligent, and devout; and to these a clear, comprehensive, and scriptural testimony of the truth was alike welcome: but others were so intoxicated

with the sentiments peculiar to their different sects, that the usual means of conviction were insufficient. From these he was apprehensive of much unnecessary discussion and debate: to avoid which, he proposed that, without giving every one, without distinction, liberty to bring forward whatever he pleased, it should be decided by lot, whether a proposition should be entertained or not. This proposal was unanimously agreed to, by which much unnecessary discussion was avoided.

I mention not this circumstance to recommend it for imitation; but it could not be omitted, since it was a point of importance in the conferences held with these singular people.

When the synod assembled the second time, many people from the immediate neighbourhood appeared, in the expectation of a public service being held. On which the Count addressed them from the words, "If any man preach any other gospel than that ye have received, let him be accursed." (Gal. i. 9.)

The Count being apprehensive that from his readiness to bring every one, according to his ability, into the right path, and to give his words, as much as possible, a good construction, the inference might be unjustly drawn, by some of the deputies, that he was of the same sentiments with such people, and stood in connexion with them—he therefore declared, at the third sitting of the synod, before them all, that he undertook the office of syndic, not as an universal servant of Christ, but as the Lutheran preacher in Philadelphia for the time being. He also stated that, for the office in question, he needed no more profound theological knowledge, than what he derived from Luther's Smaller Catechism.

Before I speak of the close of the synod, I must mention something of the effect produced by its first meetings. The truths of the gospel, which not only the Count, but likewise other servants of Jesus Christ, had boldly advanced in them, were not equally well received by all. To some they were intolerable; these therefore withdrew, and did not return again: and because at the first synod they had all of them agreed to the confession of the free grace of God, vouchsafed by the Lord Jesus, for the sake of his merits and sufferings, to the poor and humble sinner seeking his salvation, and which forms him

into a new creature in heart, mind, and spirit—they were angry. Others hesitated to have any thing further to do with the synod, because they shunned the disgrace attached to it, and did not wish to render themselves suspected by their own party. The rest, on the contrary, who were sincere in their devotedness to the Saviour, and their desire for the conversion of souls, were not only unanimous respecting the subjects discussed, but united together in love, and became one heart and one soul.

The synod thus consisting solely of members who were able to regard each other as brethren in Christ, although of various religious denominations, they were also able very fraternally and unanimously to discuss the means of promoting the Saviour's cause in Pennsylvania.

It happened that a number of the Moravian brethren and sisters, who had left London for America, arrived in Philadelphia just about the time when the last synod was being held. The synod felt cordially interested for them, invited them to attend it; and because they rejoiced in their devotedness to the Saviour, the synod did not hesitate to recognise the whole company, who purposed proceeding to Bethlehem, as a church of Jesus Christ.

After the Count had terminated these religious conferences, he proceeded to Bethlehem, to make the necessary arrangements for the brethren and sisters who had arrived from Europe: these followed him in various divisions, all of which arrived there on the 21st of July; the watch-word for which day was, "This is the day which the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it." And on the 25th of July, the anniversary of the presentation of the Augsburg Confession, this company, together with the brethren and sisters already there, were formed into a church, according to the model of the one at Herrnhut.

On Sunday, which the church were wont to spend in mutual edification, from early in the morning until late at night, sermons were preached, both in English and German, for the benefit of those in the neighbourhood, who had little opportunity of hearing of the doctrine of redemption by Christ; on which occasion, a great number of hearers generally assembled. The

Count preached the first sermon, on the words, "Lord, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee!"

He also resolved, with the church at Bethlehem, to keep the seventh day as a day of rest. His labours in this place were particularly blessed, and the church there was in a very flourishing state. I find a confirmation of this in a letter written by Anna Nitschman, in which she says, "I cannot describe to you the pleasing state of Bethlehem. I have never felt so happy in all my life as I do here. During a month, we were all together, at the time when the brethren and sisters removed thither, and were formed into a church. We loved one another like children. It is the Lamb of God that thus makes us sinners into blessed children of grace."

During the time the Count was in Bethlehem, a circumstance occurred at Nazareth, which might have caused much unpleasantness. A considerable number of Indians, who had hitherto resided there, asserted that the land was their own, and that they would insist upon it. Though the brethren would gladly have suffered these people to have made use of the land for the supply of their necessities, yet, on account of the consequences, they could not refrain from informing the government of this demand. This was done by the Count, in the name of the community of Bethlehem and Nazareth; and an order soon arrived from a justice, for the Indians to quit the neighbourhood of Nazareth, to which however they paid no attention.

Though the Count saw that the rights of the government and the landed proprietor ought not to be infringed upon, yet he was extremely kind to these Indians. He went himself to Nazareth and visited them, entered the house of their captain, spoke kindly towards him, and made him a present: at the same time he informed him, that he would not expel him and his people from the country, and only wished the question to be decided, whether they had a right to it, or not: for even if the latter were the case, he would not hinder them from making use of the land, nor demand any thing for it. He made the same declaration also to the government.

Afterwards, when the Five Nations came, according to their custom, to Philadelphia, the affair was publicly investigated, and it was found, that the Indians had no right to the land.

The bills of sale, which had been given to the proprietors of Pennsylvania, by the lawful possessors, after concluding the agreement, were produced, and Indians were present who had signed them as witnesses. Hence the Five Nations, to whom the Indians above mentioned belonged, publicly told them that they had no right to it, and immediately ordered them to remove to the territories of the Five Nations.

However little right these Indians had to demand any thing of the existing possessors of the barony of Nazareth, yet the Count induced the brethren to pay them every thing they had demanded, at the time when the latter were the most enraged at them; however, it was only to be given them as a present.

I now come to the Count's journeys amongst the Indians. Before he commenced them, he conversed frequently concerning the mode of labouring amongst the heathens, with the brethren, Frederick Martin, Gottlieb Israel, and George Weber, who had arrived on a visit from St. Thomas: Christian Henrich, who had been amongst the savage Indians, where he had laboured with much success, also arrived at Bethlehem. The former had brought with them a converted negro, and the latter a savage named John, whose Indian name was Tschoop, who was not only obedient to the gospel himself, but also commended it to others with much energy and success. The company of these converted heathens caused the Count particular pleasure.

On the 24th of July, he commenced his journey to visit the savages. Bethlehem lying at that time in the midst of the woods, some of the Indians dwelt at no great distance from it. Several of the brethren and sisters accompanied him, as well as his daughter Benigna. The sight of the wretchedness in which they found the poor heathens, touched their hearts with painful sympathy. They first visited some of the Indians who dwelt alone; and then proceeded to an Indian town, inhabited chiefly by the Delaware nation: on the way, they were overtaken by a violent storm, and not being able to find shelter, they were wet completely through. They then went to a captain's hut, placed themselves round a fire in the centre of it, and dried themselves. The next day, they travelled further, passed the Blue Mountains, and arrived at length at Meniolagomekah, a

Delaware town, where they erected their tents, and passed the night.

This journey, though at the time it seemed to have produced little effect, was the means of making acquaintance and friendship with the Indians; and, after a few years had elapsed, the Indians, who had accompanied them as interpreters and messengers, as well as most of the inhabitants of the above-mentioned town, were known to me as brethren and sisters, and I partook with them of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord.

When the Count afterwards travelled to Tolpihacon, he fell in with the Sachems, or heads of the Five Nations, who had been at Philadelphia, and were then on their return. On finding who they were, he entered into conversation with them, and told them that he had a word from the Lord to them and their people; and, being desirous of communicating it to them by means of his brethren as well as himself, he wished them to tell him if they had any objection to it. That the intention of himself and his brethren was neither to buy land from them nor to traffic with them, but to point out the way of salvation unto those amongst them that were capable of receiving it. Conrad Weisser, the interpreter of the province, made them understand this, and added, "This is the man whom God has sent from beyond the sea to the Indians as well as the white people, to make known to them his will;" and gave them, according to Indian custom, a present to confirm his words. The Indians accepted it, and conferred with each other respecting the answer, as is always the case when any proposal is made them. In about half an hour, two of these men came to the Count, and thus addressed him: "Brother, thou art come all this way across the sea to us, to preach to the white people and the Indians: thou wast not aware that we were here, and we know nothing of thee. This comes from a higher and superior hand. Come to us with thy brethren: thou shalt be welcome to us. Accept this fathom of wampum, as a sign that our words are true."*

* Some years afterwards, when I was in Onondago, where the Five Nations generally held their great council, they very well remembered this solemn promise they had made. The heads of the Five Nations, at the time

Since this event, they have not only been frequently visited by the brethren, but one of the latter also, of the name of Zeisberger, resided for some years in Onondago, until war broke out with them. During this period, he became so well acquainted with their language, that he was able to write a dictionary of it, which is probably the first of the kind. His residence amongst them was not without a blessing.

The Indians in Chekomeko, in the province of New York, who had been brought to the knowledge of the Saviour by the ministry of the brethren, were the particular object of the Count's attention. On the 21st of August, he travelled with one of the brethren and his daughter Benigna over the Blue Mountains, through Menissing and Sopus, when several of the brethren and sisters, who had proceeded by the way of New York, came to him, and thus they arrived together at Chekomeko on the 27th.

"The next day," writes the Count, "we removed to the house prepared for us, which was built of bark. It was to me the most agreeable abode I had ever occupied. Here we had inwardly some trials, outwardly rainy weather; but with respect to the converts, a clear sky, and every day fresh pleasure afforded us by the dear Indians."

He first reminded the brethren to beware of the idea of converting great multitudes, which was not to be expected from them at that time; but the chief thing then was to have first-fruits, who should be well established in the principles of the doctrine of Christ, and ought therefore to be faithfully cherished, as far as they were really sincere. The preaching of the gospel was intended for all that were willing to hear it; but they were not to baptize any, in whom they did not perceive a real divine life and a cordial belief in Christ. They were to act still more cautiously with respect to the sacrament, and admit no one to it before he had been fully proved. It

when Johannes de Wattewille was in America, were at Philadelphia, for the purpose of renewing their treaty with the English; on which occasion they frequently visited us, and minutely recollected the Count's address to them, their reply, and the manner in which they had confirmed it. On showing the fathom of wampum, they immediately recognised it; counted the corals of which it was composed, and perfectly well remembered how many of them there had been.

was certainly their duty to give them a clear understanding of Scripture, but always to take as much care as possible that their heads did not comprehend more than their hearts at the same time enjoyed.

He then introduced some good regulations, and appointed four of them to be elders and officers of the church. He writes respecting them: "These four incomparable Indians, as it respects mind and disposition, are real men of God, and form a conference, at which we have often been present with astonishment."

After six heathens had been baptized during his stay there, and the doctrine of the cross forcibly applied to every heart, he took an affecting and public leave of them, and returned with feelings of affection on both sides.

These Indians were afterwards expelled from that part of the country; and the brethren, with the consent of the government, received them into Bethlehem, gave them land for their use, and accustomed them to a regular life. The place which they afterwards built, with the help of the brethren, about a day's journey from Bethlehem, they called Gnaden-hütten. There they lived in peace, and the brethren faithfully attended to them and their children.

The savages, being dissatisfied with this, made them a variety of tempting offers to come to Wayomik, and reside amongst them; and actually induced a part of them to remove, although with the condition that their teachers should accompany them, which was, however, not fulfilled.

When the Count heard of this, he was much grieved. "Scarcely," says he, "are our Indians known and commended, before the spirit of the world again possesses them." The year following, the Indians made war upon Pennsylvania, fell upon Gnaden-hütten, slew eleven of our brethren and sisters, and laid all the buildings in ashes. The rest of the Indians, who had remained at Gnaden-hütten, after the removal of the others to Wayomik, saved themselves by flight, and came to Bethlehem, where the brethren provided for their necessities, and the government took them under its protection. Part of those who had gone amongst the savages returned, and repented of their folly; but the rest continued to adhere to

their heathenish practices, and almost all of them came to a miserable end.

The Count returned to Bethlehem by way of Sopus, and spent the Sunday there. Late in the evening, a justice came, and found him and his daughter writing hymns. This he not only forbade them to do in the king's name, but summoned them before him the following day; on which occasion he acted both as accuser and judge, and fined each of them six shillings, because they were found writing on the Sunday, and were therefore Sabbath-breakers. Poor man! I have since heard, that the governor deprived him of his office in consequence.

The Count brought some Indians with him to Bethlehem; two of whom were baptized on the 26th of September, by the names of David and Joshua.

The Count's third journey was directed to the Indians, who dwelt at that time at some distance up the Susquehanna. The way to them was always fatiguing: the passage up the river was tedious, and not without danger from the many rocks and shallows in the Susquehanna. There was no other way by land than through a gloomy forest, and over pathless hills. The Count, who travelled in the autumn, when the Susquehanna is generally very low, had no alternative left but the latter.

There being at that time several places on the Susquehanna where Indians of various nations resided, the Count took care to be well provided with interpreters. He was also accompanied by the brethren Peter Boehler, Henry Leimbach, and others.

From Bethlehem, they soon reached a thick and tangled wood, where the night overtook them before they could finish their day's journey; and there being no regular path, they were exposed to many dangers; but still no misfortune befell them.

In the territories of the Indians there was no road, and they were obliged to follow the hunting-tracks, which were often scarcely discernible, and are frequently very circuitous. The many fallen trees which impeded the way—the morasses, which often required to be long examined before a place could be found to pass over them—the hills, of which many were so steep that they could not be descended on foot without difficulty, much

less on horseback,—rendered the journey very tedious. The Count and his company, however, arrived on the 28th of September safely in Shomokin, where at that time many Indians resided.

On the way, the Count pleased himself with the expectation of finding Shikellimus, one of the Sachems, with whom he had become acquainted at Tolpihacon and to whom he felt attached. But Conrad Weisser, the interpreter with whom he spoke on the subject, regarded it as impossible; for Shikellimus had undertaken a journey to Onondago, at the request of the Pennsylvanian government, and had actually set out for that place, of which he had also informed Weisser. But when the Count and his company entered Shomokin, Shikellimus, to their joy and surprise, came out to meet them. On the way to Onondago, he had met with another chief of the Five Nations, to whom he had given the message entrusted to him, and had, himself, returned to Shomokin.

"Whilst the tents were erecting," writes the Count, "I went to take a short walk. A savage came towards me, and presented me with a beautiful melon; I immediately took my cap from my head, and gave it him in return. Shikellimus frequently pressed my hand, and was desirous of privately ascertaining from Weisser the object of my journey. The latter told him, I was a servant of the living God, who preached grace and mercy. Shikellimus was glad that such a messenger appeared amongst their people. On returning from my walk, I found our sister Mack standing with a friendly Indian woman, and discoursing freely with her in her own language.

The next day, Shikellimus came to the Count's tent. The latter sat down between him and the interpreter, and told him what had induced him to take this journey, and commended the grace which our Lord Jesus Christ was willing to show even to the heathen. Shikellimus answered, that he was much pleased with the Count's intention, and that he would do every thing in his power to promote the accomplishment of it.*

* This Indian afterwards came with some of his family, on a friendly visit to the brethren at Bethlehem; received the word of Christ into his heart, and, shortly after his return, left this world as a believer in Jesus, under the care and attention of David Zeisberger.

Before the Count took his departure from Shomokin, it happened that one Sunday, whilst he was repeating the Litany with his companions, the Indians made a great noise, in consequence of being engaged in some of their festivities. The Count therefore sent Weisser to Shikellimus, to inform him that the brethren were now speaking with their God. Scarcely had Weisser returned, when the drums, the music, and the voices of the Indians were all at once silent, and not a sound more was heard.

On the 30th of September, the Count set out with his attendants on his return; but Joshua, one of the Indians who had accompanied them, having been taken ill, Martin Mack and his wife were obliged to stay behind in Shomokin to nurse him, which they very willingly did, in the hopes of finding an opportunity of sowing good seed amongst the Indians.

The Count and his companions were compelled to ride through the Susquehanna, and Shikellimus showed them the ford. The many large and slippery stones, with which the bed of the river is filled, would render riding through it more dangerous, were not the water so clear that every stone can be distinctly seen, and for the most part avoided. The road in other respects was good, but they did not arrive at Ostonwakin so early as they expected. The horses were obliged to seek their food in the woods, and it was only with great difficulty that they could be collected together again in the morning. The districts through which they rode were very fruitful, but entirely waste, and full of morasses which were often impassable.

Not far from Ostonwakin, an Indian came to them, who spoke both French and English, and likewise understood several of the Indian languages. On approaching the place above mentioned, he all at once rode away, without saying any thing to any one, and was probably the cause why the Indians, as soon as the company appeared in sight, and on their entering the village, gave them a very friendly welcome after their manner.

There dwelt at that time in Ostonwakin a number of Indians of various nations, and amongst them also many Europeans, who had adopted their savage mode of life.

"Here we alighted," writes the Count, "and went to the dwelling of old Madame Montoux, a French lady, who had married an Indian. Her husband, one of the chiefs, had been shot in the war against the Catawhees. She wept on seeing us. I told her our object, and answered all her questions with cordiality, but very briefly, because I intended keeping myself very quiet for a few days. She became very intimate with our sisters, and informed them how tired she was of being amongst the Indians. She brought me a couple of Indian children to baptize, and alleged the custom of her forefathers in Canada: but I refused, and told her, that if one of the brethren should in the sequel settle there, we would speak further on the subject."

Peter Boehler now returned from Ostonwakin, by way of Shomokin and Tolpihacon, to Bethlehem; and the two Indians, Joshua and David, travelled with him. Conrad Weisser also felt obliged to go to Tolpihacon on business, but promised faithfully to return at a certain time. Meanwhile, Martin Mack with his wife came from Shomokin, and accompanied the Count and the rest of the party to Wayomik. The Shawanose, an extremely fierce and corrupt nation, dwelt there at that time. The Five Nations, who imagine that great treasures and rich silver mines lie concealed in Wayomik, ceded that part of the country to the Shawanose, in order by their means to prevent any Europeans from coming thither and discovering them.

The Count erected his tent amongst these savages, and remained there twenty days. At first they thought he came with the intention of buying land of them, or trafficking with them like other Europeans: and although he soon endeavoured to undeceive them, and to tell them the cause of his visit, yet some degree of suspicion still remained in them; for the Indians are in general very suspicious towards all Europeans.

This did not hinder him, however, from occasionally speaking both with their chiefs and other individuals. He had hopes of one or two amongst them, that the gospel would not be in vain in them. He found however, in general, that their hearts were not yet open, and that their chief in particular was much averse to it. Meanwhile, he employed his time in making himself well acquainted with the poor savages, and laying their destitute case before the Lord.

The savages, however, came to the resolution to put the Count and his companions to death. The interpreter, who could not possibly know any thing of their determination, had been detained longer at a place than the time appointed. All at once he was seized with such an inward apprehension, as compelled him to make all possible haste to Wayomik; and scarcely had he arrived there, when the wicked purpose was discovered and frustrated.

The return of the Count and his companions from Wayomik to the inhabited part of Pennsylvania was extremely fatiguing and dangerous. For first, their horses were much exhausted from want of provender in the forests, the grass and foliage being decayed at this late season of the year; and sufficient Indian corn could not be procured from the natives. Next, the weather was inclement, the days short, and the nights cold and long. Hence the journey took a long time to accomplish. Thirdly, the rivers, and especially the Susquehanna, which could only be forded on horseback, were so much swollen, that those of the company whose horses were not above the ordinary size, were obliged to swim with them in the deepest parts. But they all came safely through, and arrived in health, happy and thankful, at Bethlehem, on the 9th of November.

The Count remained there some weeks, and endeavoured to arrange every thing in such a manner, as to divest himself of any cause for anxiety with respect to the church at Bethlehem on his approaching departure.

Intending to take with him some of the elders, who had hitherto ministered to that church, it was necessary to appoint others in their place. He also made himself intimately acquainted with the inward state and outward circumstances of every member of the church, and spoke especially with each of its office-bearers upon the state of his soul, and his future functions. Besides this, he endeavoured to place the outward circumstances of the church on a better footing, and regulated many things with respect to the future. Much also required to be arranged concerning the missions of the brethren both on the continent of America and in the West India islands, as well as brethren to be sent off as missionaries to those parts.

Many of the members of the synod also frequently resorted

to Bethlehem at this time, and the cause of God amongst the various religious denominations in Pennsylvania was a principal object with the Count.

The 13th of November was observed with much solemnity, as being the anniversary of the day on which, in the preceding year, the congregations of the brethren resigned themselves to the special guidance of Jesus Christ, as the chief shepherd and head of his church. On this occasion, four ministers, who were destined to preach both in German and English, wherever they might be required in the country, were ordained by the Count to that office.

On the 31st of December, he partook of the sacrament with the church, thus taking his leave of them; and then made one journey more into the interior.

He had already greatly lamented the want of schools in America. He saw that many parents were unable to instruct their children themselves, owing to their extreme ignorance. Others, who had received an education, were so engrossed with temporal business, that their children were little better situated in this respect than the former. This induced the Count, in concert with other able men, to undertake the thing, and by a printed advertisement publicly to state, that he was willing to form a seminary for the instruction of children.

An establishment of this kind for girls was actually commenced in Germantown; and the Countess Benigna offered to assist in it. But all that was accomplished was, that some friends who loved the Saviour, sent their children to the seminary, to whom it became a blessing; and I still remember several persons who had been there, and who became faithful handmaids of Jesus Christ.

He now endeavoured to preach in every place to the Germans once more. Though he regretted that there were so few churches in Pennsylvania, and thought it unbecoming and inconvenient, that the meetings should be held in barns and houses, yet as there was no remedy for it at the time, he accommodated himself to it from love to souls.

Persons of various denominations attended his discourses, and the Count preached the truths which were so much spoken against in Pennsylvania, with uncommon boldness. In parti-

ular, he attacked, in the strongest terms, that righteousness and holiness which proceed from human efforts and reason.

Before I proceed to relate the particulars of the Count's departure from North America, I have still to notice a few things connected with his residence there: the first is, the publications he edited, which consist of a small collection of Hymns; Luther's smaller Catechism, for the use of the Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania; an Address to the Free-thinkers, in Latin; and a Letter to the brethren, which is worthy of the attention of every intelligent reader: it treats of the method which a servant of Christ ought to observe in associating with individuals of various descriptions, that injury may be prevented from arising, and advantage be derived to the Saviour's cause.

The opposition manifested against the Count in America was carried to great lengths: he was not only declared by some to be the false prophet, by others the horrible beast spoken of in the Revelations, and much of the same kind, but he was openly and barefacedly accused of the vilest criminalities. Thus it was reported, that the Countess Benigna was not his daughter, but a young female whom he had seduced; that he had been banished from Germany, and degraded from the clerical office, on account of drunkenness and other vices, &c. A number of such accusations were even published in the newspapers.

The Count being by no means inclined to reply to public calumnies, or to revile when reviled, made the following declaration, under date of 27th of March:—

"In a recent publication, there are nineteen historical accusations brought against me, the whole of which are decidedly and entirely false. Whoever therefore can verify or render probable any one of these points, I will not only listen to him in public and in private as long as I am here, but sincerely thank him also, and if possible profit by it." No one, however, appeared who was able to substantiate a single charge against the Count; and he was even obliged to appease the persons referred to by his opponents as witnesses, lest the latter should be denounced by them to the civil authorities.

A letter of the Count's also clearly shows, that he would

gladly have brought his slanderers to an interview, but was unable to effect it.

His external conduct at this time was singular in every respect, and uncommon for a person of his rank.

The climate in that part of the country where he resided being hot, he made use of the common linen summer dress, worn by people of the middle class. He sometimes travelled on foot, but generally on horseback, there being no other mode of proceeding through the districts into which he ventured; for there were neither carriage-roads nor bridges across the rivers. His travelling companions were also somewhat extraordinary; for, besides some of the brethren and sisters who were wont to travel with him, he had occasionally two or three converted Indians in his train; and because this was something strange in the country, it could not fail to excite attention, both among the savages and the white people. In the state of the country at that time, he seldom found a lodging on these journeys, but frequently travelled during the night: but when he stopped anywhere, he either received visits, and continued in conversation during the greater part of the night, or else shut himself up with his papers, and found it difficult to leave them. Now this was something quite new to the people, though quite usual with him. His table was also generally but ill supplied; for he was unable to eat the smoked or salted pork, which was at that time the customary food of the country.

He was not inclined, when travelling, to enter into conversation with every person without distinction; but when he fell in with any one, respecting whom he hoped that the word would not be in vain, he did not avoid intercousre with him.

I will here only adduce one instance of this: having once taken a person with him to show him the way through the wood, he asked him of what religion he was? "A Lutheran, to be sure!" said his guide. "But do you know what it is to be a Lutheran?" asked the Count. This question startled the man, who honestly confessed that he did not. On inquiring further, whether he would be glad to have it explained to him, and receiving an answer in the affirmative, the Count prolonged his journey so as to find time to converse with the guide during

the night; and then described to him, with a warm heart, what it was to be a Lutheran. This so affected the man, that it proved the means of his conversion, as I have often afterwards heard him relate.

On the 28th of December, O. S., an assembly of the confederated ministers of various religious persuasions, met on the Ridge, about six miles from Philadelphia; at which the Count took his leave, proposed that such an assembly should be annually held in Pennsylvania, appointed a new syndic for such conferences in his place, and made other profitable arrangements.

He then proceeded to Philadelphia, devoted himself as much as the time permitted to his beloved Lutherans, who were also much attached to him, and established a church, consisting of those Englishmen who had been recently brought by the ministry of the brethren to a knowledge of the gospel.

He afterwards delivered a parting address to the whole of the labourers in the Lord's vineyard, then in Pennsylvania, at the house of Mr. Stephen Benezet, of Philadelphia, in which he expressed his sentiments with reference to the preaching of the gospel, and the pastoral charge in general in America. This address was taken down, and afterwards printed.

Finally, he preached in the evening of the 31st of December, O. S., on the eve of his departure, in the newly-erected Moravian church in Philadelphia. During the sermon his numerous auditory were much affected. He left the church before the conclusion of the service, to avoid the pain of taking leave of so many persons; set out for Frankfort on the Delaware, which he reached the same evening, and then pursued his journey to New York.

Such was the close of his labours in America; but before proceeding further, I will briefly notice something of what occurred in his family in Germany during his absence. The Countess undertook several journeys, not only to Ebersdorf, Herrnhut, and Berlin, but also to Denmark and Livonia. She had a private audience of the Queen of Denmark at Hirschholm, when she spoke freely and fully respecting the progress of the gospel at that time. Her arrival in Livonia caused great joy to many, who had ardently desired it.

Before she left Herrnhut, she received intelligence from Marienborn, that the Lord had taken her youngest son, David, to himself; and whilst she was in Livonia, accounts arrived from Herrnhut of the departure of her little daughter, Johanna Salome, who had also given decided proofs of piety.

The Count certainly loved his children; but he had resigned them fully to Him, who had bought them with his blood. Hence, although his paternal heart was deeply pained by the intelligence of their decease, he was able to rejoice in the consciousness, that they were now for ever safe in a better world.

I will relate the Count's return to England in Capt. Garrison's own words:

"On the 2d of January, 1743, Count Zinzendorf visited me, on his way to New York, from whence my house is not far distant, and called upon me to return with him to Europe, and take the command of a vessel, which had brought over some of the brethren to America. Although I had resolved never to go to sea again, yet I joyfully accepted the office. We accordingly set sail from New York, on the 9th of June, in a vessel called the *James*. Many remarkable things occurred on this voyage which much astonished and comforted me, but of which I will only relate the following:—

"On the 14th of February, when we were near the Scilly islands, and the wind blew tempestuously from the south, we were in great danger of foundering upon the rocks. The crew were in great terror, and I was also afraid myself. The Count perceiving this, asked me if the danger were really so great? but comforted me at the same time, and told me we should all come safely and happily to land. He himself was so cheerful and happy during the danger, that I could not help wondering at it. But when he saw that I was still anxious, he told me the storm would be over in two hours: but I was scarcely able to listen to this; for I took it for granted, that this was something which no one could know beforehand. Hence I made myself ready for death, by prayer and supplication, as I was wont to do in similar circumstances. When the two hours he had mentioned were elapsed, he told

me to go upon deck, and look at the appearance of the weather. Scarcely had I been there two minutes, when the storm subsided, the wind changed to the south-west, and we were soon out of all danger. I then clearly remembered what he had said to me, and was much affected by it. On this, I went down into the cabin, and informed him that the storm was over, and that we were now out of danger. He then requested us to return thanks with him to God, who had delivered us, which we accordingly did.

" Being very desirous of knowing how the Count could possibly determine the precise time when the storm would subside, I questioned him about it. He said, in reply, that he would plainly tell me how it was, being persuaded that I would not make any bad use of it.

" I have now for upwards of twenty years," said he, " enjoyed intimate and heartfelt intercourse with my dear Saviour. Therefore, whenever I am placed in a dangerous and critical situation, the first thing I do, is, to examine whether I am myself to blame for it. If I find any thing with which he is not satisfied, I immediately fall at his feet, and ask forgiveness. My gracious Saviour then gives me to feel, that he has forgiven me, and generally lets me know how the matter will terminate. But if it does not please him to do this, I remain passive, and think it is better that I should not know it. But this time, he let me know that the storm would be over in two hours.

" It was something new and strange to me to hear that God our Saviour should thus condescend to man, and become so confidential with him; for in my lifetime, I had always heard more of a great, angry, and jealous God, than of his incomprehensible love to man, and his condescension to such poor creatures as we are. However, I believed what he told me, and had no doubt in my own mind of the truth of it: for I had seen and heard so much of him on this voyage with him, that it was clear to me, in my heart, that he was a faithful servant of Jesus Christ."

The Count landed at Dover on the 17th of February, and proceeded to London, where he had left me, at his departure for America: but, during his absence, I had gone down to

Yorkshire, at the earnest request of some friends, with my fellow-labourers in the ministry. By the preaching of Christ crucified, in which some of the brethren, in particular, had been rendered useful, many hundred souls were awakened there from their sleep of sin, who were desirous of advancing further in the grace and knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. The brethren were also willing to assist them in this object, according to the grace received from God; but first they obtained a written promise from each of those that belonged to the church of England, that they would not abandon the latter.

On this, the brethren boldly went to work, and pledged themselves to each other to abide by the doctrine of Christ crucified, with as much simplicity, as if they were ignorant of every thing besides. They hoped that this would produce abiding fruit, and on this was founded their communion with these people, as well as their reproof when needful.

In this state of things, the Count found us at Smithhouse, near Halifax, where he arrived on the 25th of February, with his daughter, Anna Nitschman, and James Hutton. He was unwilling to undertake any thing with regard to the affairs of the church in England, until he had first conversed with me, to whom the superintendence of them was at that time committed; and hence, on his arrival in London, he lost no time in proceeding to Yorkshire.

The worthy people there, with whom we were associating, pleased him extremely. He addressed them in their meeting with much unction and effect, and also found time to see and converse with them singly. He conferred also with me and my assistants concerning their previous walk, and what was still necessary with respect to them; and after having taken a cordial leave of a company of English brethren and sisters, who it was thought at the time might become associates in the work of the Lord committed to us, he returned to London.

He did not, however, take the direct road thither, but went first to Cambridge, where he viewed the colleges, and visited some of the professors; and from thence proceeded to Broadoaks, a mansion rented by the brethren, about forty miles from London. At that time, the seminaries for the children

of the English brethren were there, which had been begun in London, but removed thither, in order that the children might be brought up in greater innocence. The Count inspected these seminaries, called the place "Lambs'-inn," and left his daughter Benigna there with the children.

On the 11th of March, he returned to London, and was so full of what he had seen in Yorkshire, that he said, none of the new churches had pleased him so well as that in Yorkshire. The next day, he held a conference with the whole of the elders and teachers of the Moravian church in London, in which he explained to them the duties of their office, and encouraged them to be faithful in the discharge of them. He then divided his time in such a manner, as to preach a sermon in German daily in the Moravian church: this was copied down, translated into English, and generally read the day following, in the church, to those who did not understand German.

Being told, a short time before his departure from London, that Frenchmen were there, who neither understood English nor German, and yet were desirous of hearing the gospel, he preached, on the 24th of March, a sermon in French, for the first time in his life.

The Count also, during this period, delivered several addresses to the English "Society for the furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen," and related to them, not only the miserable state of the poor heathen, of which he had been an eye-witness, but also made them acquainted with the labours of the brethren amongst them, and the difficulties they met with.

That which had given rise to this recently established society, was the circumstance of the brethren and sisters who came to England, either to proceed to the various missionary stations, or on their return from the latter. In consequence of being occasionally obliged to spend some weeks in England, whilst waiting for the sailing of the vessels for the places to which they were proceeding, they became acquainted with our English friends and brethren. When the latter saw with what devotedness to the Saviour, and what desire for the salvation of the heathen; nay, at what hazard of their health and lives the

brethren and sisters boldly repaired to the scene of their labours,—they felt impelled to assist these servants of Jesus Christ, in a manner suited to their circumstances, mindful of the words, "Beloved, thou doest faithfully whatsoever thou doest to the brethren and to strangers; which have borne witness of thy charity before the church: whom, if thou bring forward on their journey after a godly sort, thou shalt do well. Because that for his name's sake they went forth, taking nothing of the Gentiles. We ought, therefore, to receive such, that we may be fellow-helpers to the truth." 3 John, 5—8. This occasioned some of our London friends and brethren to meet together, and consider what they might and ought to do, for Jesus's sake, towards the promotion of the gospel, and how they might best accomplish it. They decided unanimously to provide for the missionaries, as long as they were in London, find suitable opportunities for their proceeding further, agree with the captains of the vessels fixed upon for that purpose, recommend them, if possible, to friends at the places whither they were going, expedite their letters, provide them with any little necessaries they might require, &c.

In order that all this might be done in a regular manner, they formed themselves into a society, which met monthly, read the letters from the missionaries, and then deposited, in a box for that purpose, whatever each one thought proper to give. They chose from amongst themselves a committee, who had to assemble weekly, or oftener, according to circumstances, and attend to whatever came before them, as well as various office-bearers, that every thing might be managed honourably both in the sight of God and man.

Besides the labours above mentioned, the Count devoted many hours to the service of his neighbours in a variety of ways. He had many visits, particularly from those who were zealous in their profession of religion; and occasionally visited them in return. Amongst others, he became acquainted, during this period, with the Rev. John Cennick, a zealous preacher, who, some years after, became a faithful fellow-labourer of the brethren, and continued so until his end.

The Count became also very intimate with Mr. James Erskine, a member of parliament, and both a learned and pious

man. The latter gave him, both in word and writing, a complete idea of the state of religion in Scotland, and invited the brethren thither, because he was desirous that godliness in Christ Jesus might be implanted in the hearts of the people in that country; for which purpose brother Hesse was sent thither towards the close of the year. Mr. Erskine informed the Count, that he had found, in the library at Aberdeen, the original of the protest of the Bohemian nobility against the execution of John Huss, the martyr, signed and sealed by fifty-three noblemen.

The Count also paid a friendly visit to the archbishop of Canterbury; on which occasion he inspected the library at Lambeth, and deposited in it the original documents of the negotiation between the Moravian and Greek church.

On the 25th of March, the Count set out for Holland, but the vessel not being ready to sail from Gravesend, he availed himself of the interval to confer on important subjects with the brethren who had accompanied him thither.

In the beginning of April he arrived safely in Holland, in company with about twenty individuals, whom he had brought with him from America, and went from Rotterdam first to the Hague, where he had the satisfaction of meeting with Mr. Von Gersdorf, who had been deputed by the churches to act as their agent in Holland. After conversing with him, he proceeded to Amsterdam, where he held a conference with the elders and bishops, who had assembled there, on every thing that had occurred during his absence.

Previous to his departure from Marienborn, he had nominated some brethren for the purpose of superintending the affairs of the church and the brethren who were travelling, and these constituted the general conference. Being commissioned to superintend every thing in the Count's absence, which might promote the prosperity of the Moravian cause, they had not only been indefatigable in doing so, but had also taken in hand a variety of other business, with reference to the various settlements, and felt assured that they were only acting according to the commission given them.

The Count, however, regarded it in a very different point of view; for, first, he thought it would have been better if the

general conference had limited itself to the things already on foot. If it were requisite to undertake any thing new, he thought it was only reasonable previously to hear his opinion on the subject: for because his office of superintendent, which he would gladly have resigned, was not taken from him, and he had been commissioned by the synod in London to have his eye upon the whole proceedings of the church,—he could not comprehend how the general conference should undertake such important matters without first consulting him; since there would have been no great difficulty in writing to America and waiting for his reply. The Count had, secondly, many scruples with regard to the new measures adopted in his absence, both as it respected the measures themselves and the manner of treating them.

I mention this circumstance beforehand; for it seems to be a key to much that transpired during the year, of which more in the sequel.

The Count met here also his son Christian Renatus, in whom a great change had taken place since his departure for America, which rejoiced him much.

It is true that some traces of the work of the Holy Spirit had manifested themselves in this young nobleman from his youth up; but as the Count was firmly convinced that all young people, brought up amongst the brethren, where they were preserved from much that is evil, and habituated to that which is good, ought, like others who had not enjoyed the same advantages in their education, to become thoroughly acquainted with their natural sinfulness and corruption in the light of the Holy Spirit, and obtain and experience the grace that is in Christ Jesus,—he was of the same opinion also with respect to his son. He spoke with him occasionally on the subject, and often entreated his Lord and Saviour on his behalf: this had been especially the case on his third visit to the heathen, and he had received in his heart the assurance that his son would become a child of God and a servant of Jesus Christ.

On finding him so much changed that he scarcely knew him again, he considered how he might continue to be faithfully trained for the service of the Saviour and his church. After

much reflection, he resolved to keep him near him, and make use of him not only in labouring among the single brethren, but also in all the other business of the church. How far he attained his object will appear in due time.

Count Balthasar Frederick Von Promnitz, whom Count Zinzendorf had never before seen, but who had opened his heart to him by letter, and assured him of his devotedness to the Saviour's cause, came also to Amsterdam to visit him. This nobleman had been a few times in Herrnhut, which had proved a blessing to him, and felt a particular attachment to the brethren and their churches, which he had evidenced on several occasions, in places where it was not expected of him.

The Count was well satisfied with this nobleman's state of mind; he nevertheless regretted that the brethren should have employed him in matters which belonged to their syndic's office. For although he did not doubt that Count von Promnitz was fully disposed to execute, with much ability and fidelity, the commission entrusted to him, and which he had willingly undertaken; yet it was not to be expected, that he possessed the needful acquaintance with every thing, in which the individual undertaking the affairs of the brethren ought to feel at home.

On the 12th of April the Count went to Heerendyk, where the brethren and sisters, who had accompanied him from America, and several visitors from England and Amsterdam, had also arrived. He there related, in a public assembly, which lasted some hours, much of what had occurred in America, gave addresses to some of the choirs, and the members of the church, and returned on the 15th of April to Amsterdam.

He was now anxious to revisit the churches in Germany, but was desirous, before his departure, of seeing some matters concerning the brethren arranged with the States-general.

He thought it his duty first of all to resume the office of syndic to the brethren, which he had divided between the bishops Müller and David Nitschman, in order to bring those things into their regular course, which, in his opinion, had deviated from it.

Mr. Von Gersdorf, as the deputy of the Moravian church at the Hague, had petitioned,—

1. For religious tolerance and ecclesiastical liberty for the brethren in all the provinces of the United Netherlands.

2. For permission to send individual members of the Moravian church to the Dutch colonies in the East and West Indies, for the conversion of the heathen there.

3. That if the States-general wished for further information respecting the doctrine and church-discipline of the brethren, they would appoint a commission for that purpose.

They accordingly did so, and the Count, who was much gratified with the circumstance, regarded it as necessary definitely to point out the question on which the whole subject hinged, which he did in a memoir, drawn up in the French language.

The result was, that since that time, the Moravian church has enjoyed the desired tranquillity in the seven united provinces.

After the Count had thus far arranged the affairs of the church in Holland, he proceeded, in company with his son and daughter, and Anna Nitschman, on the 20th of April, to Utrecht, and from thence to Wetteravia. On the 26th he arrived at Lindheim, and the next day went to Herrnhaag, where the general meeting of the church was just being held. He immediately addressed them on the watchword for the day, and expressed his cordial affection for them; and afterwards communicated much information respecting the affairs of the brethren in England, Holland, and America.

He afterwards devoted himself for some days to the various sections of the church at Herrnhaag; respecting which, however, he began to entertain some scruples.

It has been already stated, that he would have been glad if Herrnhaag had adhered to the Reformed, as Herrnhut had done to the Lutheran confession, retaining at the same time the regulations of the Moravian church, which had proved so beneficial; but during his absence, the brethren had entered into a new contract with the Count of Isenburg-Büdingen, in which Herrnhaag was openly stated to be a Moravian church, and under the inspection of its bishops. This was connected with the borrowing of a considerable capital, from which the Count was apprehensive of dangerous results.

His views with respect to Herrnhaag being thus counteracted,

he took the resolution of ministering the gospel to the church there, without entering into its secular affairs.

On the 5th of May, the Count removed to Marienborn, and some days after visited the Count of Isenburg-Meerholz.

The castle of Marienborn, together with the district of Eckhartshausen, to which it belongs, had in the meantime been mortgaged for a certain sum, by the Count of Meerholtz, to Matthew Beuning, of Amsterdam, for thirty years. With this arrangement Count Zinzendorf was not satisfied ; for he rented Marienborn of his cousin for his residence ; but by the contract above mentioned, it was ceded to Mr. Beuning.

The Count, notwithstanding he had protested against this proceeding, immediately on hearing of it, assisted Mr. Beuning, who found an unexpected difficulty in raising the money, with a considerable part of the desired sum. Hence the question arose at length, whether it would not be better to transfer the contract to Count Zinzendorf or his consort, since they required Marienborn for their residence, whilst Mr. Beuning usually resided at Amsterdam.

The affair could not be immediately arranged : however, the church attached to Marienborn was opened according to the contract, and the Count preached in it himself to a numerous auditory, which was increased by many strangers who attended there ; and the affair was afterwards arranged between him, Mr. Beuning, and the Count of Isenburg-Meerholz.

On his return from America, the Count found the theological seminary, which had been hitherto established in Marienborn, but was afterwards removed to Lindheim, not only much increased, but also in some respects changed. Bishop Müller, who was a very learned man, seemed desirous that scholastic learning should be seriously pursued in the seminary, whilst the Count was afraid, lest those who studied in it should be by this means led away from the knowledge of Jesus Christ, easily attach themselves to subjects of minor importance, and occupy themselves with things, otherwise useful, which did not accord with their destination. He called to mind what the archbishop of Canterbury had said to him a short time before :—" That he was not without apprehension, lest the brethren should fall away from their simplicity, if their bishops should begin to fill

the minds of their young people with human learning." Hence he faithfully endeavoured, though with much prudence, to prevent any injurious consequences from this regulation.

According to his view, not only ought the pure doctrine of the holy Scriptures, as contained in the Augsburg Confession, to be fundamentally taught in the seminary, but also the best method of applying them to the human heart: its members ought to be directed, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, not to seek their own, but faithfully and cordially what is Jesus Christ's: they ought not to occupy themselves with useless controversies, and still less with fanciful notions and ideas, but, on the contrary, exercise themselves in things which were indispensable to them, in order to become useful to God and their neighbour: they ought to strive to be regular, humble, and simple in their doctrine and deportment, and to be obedient; that there might be no hesitation in appointing them to offices consistent with the gifts and talents they possessed.

On the 8th of May, he went with some of his fellow-labourers to the Ronneburg. The brethren not having sufficient room, had hired this old castle of the previous tenants; and at that time a whole church dwelt in it, which was provided with every necessary office and regulation. There was also a seminary for children there. The Count visited this place often, especially when he wished to be alone: he also spent the 14th of July there, with some of his fellow-labourers, in grateful recollection of his coming thither as an exile on that day seven years before: he also made use of it, during his residence in Wetteravia, for several important conferences and other ecclesiastical business.

The Count, after making himself fully acquainted with the various changes which had taken place in his absence, and the present state of things, went to work anew, though with much circumspection, and sought to amend the faults which had been occasionally committed. The Lord was with him, and gave him, not only at his first entrance into the church after his return, but also on every future occasion, so much grace, and blessed his preaching and other proceedings so obviously, that the members of the church became heartily attached to him, and grateful to the Redeemer on his behalf.

Meanwhile, brother David Nitschman had returned from his negotiation at Gotha, which had reference to the following object :—

Count von Promnitz had purchased from Count Gotter an estate in Saxe-Gotha, and had resolved, if the consent of the government could be obtained, to found a Moravian settlement there. The affair had been agitated, and the requisite applications had been made ; but when the Count returned, he was not only much dissatisfied with the brethren who had been active in the matter, but even made known his sentiments in writing to the reigning Duke of Saxe-Gotha.

Thus the proposed colony in Gotha was set aside for the time, and the Count recalled the brethren from thence.

Afterwards, however, without the Count's knowledge or concurrence, a Moravian colony settled on the estate of Neudietendorf, above mentioned, which adheres to the Lutheran church, according to the views the Count held at that time, and is attended by a Lutheran clergyman, who administers the sacraments, but at the same time has permission to retain its own discipline, like the rest of the Moravian churches.

On the 21st of May, the rest of the brethren and sisters who had accompanied the Count from Pennsylvania, also arrived at Marienborn. Having proceeded from Heerendyk to Frankfort by water, their arrival had been delayed. The day following, the Count had also the pleasure to see his consort again, who had returned from St. Petersburg and Livonia.

It was afterwards ascertained, that she was given out in Livonia as the foundress of a new sect, which groundless imputation might have been of unpleasant consequences to her, if the Lord had not faithfully watched over her. The Count, however, felt induced to send pressing remonstrances on the subject, both to St. Petersburg and Livonia : he also addressed the holy synod of the Russian church, entreating them to appoint a commission to inquire who he was, what the Moravian church was ; and then to consider what their religious duty required of them to think and speak of the brethren, and how they ought to act towards them.

Considering the many difficulties which presented themselves from within and without, the Count thought it requisite

to act with much boldness and cheerfulness. With this view, he made a particular covenant with the brethren and sisters who were the most with him, which had reference solely to a simple and childlike deportment. They agreed to expect every blessing from the love of Jesus, believingly adhere to his word, filially cast all care upon him, and heartily rejoice in him. Their motto was, "This he said in order to prove them; for he knew what he would do." When they came together, their behaviour was cordial and affectionate, but, at the same time, sincere and confidential; like children when in company with each other.

This little society, which was begun with a few, and was very beneficial for a time, brought some of the brethren and sisters, who would otherwise have fallen a prey to gloomy reflections, into a pleasant and simple state; and it was clearly seen, that the Lord granted his blessing upon it: but when it increased, and some of its members only sought their loose amusement, it was thought best to dissolve the society, in order to avoid all abuse of it.

For the sake of a number of people, who came from all quarters, in order to be with a church of the brethren, the Count considered how he might procure them a residence. Leustadt, a place with a castle and church, which had been mortgaged to Mr. Beuning by the Count of Büdingen, seemed a convenient place for the time. The Count therefore arranged, that a number of these people should be quartered at Leustadt, where they were attended to by the brethren, and had regulations given them conformable to their circumstances. He afterwards visited Leustadt himself, and consoled the worthy people, who felt grieved that they could not be received into Herrnhaag, with the hope that much good would result from it. He also administered the sacrament there.

The Count seriously considering the necessity of coming to a good understanding with his fellow-labourers, both respecting what had been already done, was still to be accomplished, and the measures which were to be adopted in consequence, regarded it needful to call a synod. It was decided to hold it at Hirschberg, in Vogtland, one reason of which was, the hope that thus a brotherly connexion might be renewed with

the church at Ebersdorf, which is not far from thence; for that church had for some years pursued its course, without any connexion with the rest of the churches of the brethren. The Count took leave of the church at Herrnhaag on the 23d of June, after first partaking of the sacrament. On the 24th he reached the Ronneburg, and arrived at Hirschberg on the 30th of June.

The synod was opened on the 1st of July, and lasted till the 12th of that month, and was occupied with the general business of the church.

After its termination, the Count proceeded to Pottiga, to visit his sister-in-law, the Countess Benigna Reuss, and from thence to Ebersdorf. He remained there several days, during which he frequently preached. He then set out for Berlin with the Countess and his son, and arrived there on the 21st of July. He was accompanied by the brethren, Von Gersdorf, Weiss, and Layritz, who had been empowered by the synod to negotiate with the Pussian government, respecting a concession granted to the brethren, which did not satisfy the Count. David Nitschman had preceded them, and the Count found every thing in such a train, that he could immediately proceed with the object he had in view, which was, that a commission might be appointed, in order that after due investigation, the matter might be decided. This was, however, found unnecessary by the Prussian government, and consequently declined.

The affair was briefly this:—The Count requested that an alteration should be made in the concession granted to the Moravian church, and that instead of exempting the latter and its teachers from the inspection of the consistory, and granting its bishops the *jura ecclesiæ*, he would have preferred that the churches of the brethren in Silesia should have been placed under the Lutheran consistory, retaining, at the same time, their own discipline and constitution, as well as the liberty of choosing their own teachers.

He therefore strongly urged the point upon the minister of state in Berlin, to whom the affair had been committed: but that statesman assured the Count, he ought to thank God, that the concession had been drawn up as it was, for he was

well aware that the individuals under whom it was wished to place the brethren, were heartily opposed to them, and no one could know that so well as he. This was said so pointedly, that the Count was obliged to leave it for the time.

Notwithstanding this, he omitted nothing in the sequel, for the preservation of unity between the Moravian church in Silesia and the Lutheran church. The end was, however, not attained; for the clergy of the latter preferred the existence of the former, as a separate church, and not in connexion with them. The Count, however, was much grieved at not being able to succeed in his object.

On the 8th of August, he left Berlin for Silesia; and being authorized by the brethren to arrange for the erection of chapels in Silesia, according to the royal concession, so that all the inconveniences which were apprehended might be prevented, a royal rescript was issued, under date 27th of July, enjoining the governments in Breslau and Glogau, to offer no impediment to the Count in the prosecution of his purpose, but on the contrary, to afford him all reasonable assistance.

In Silesia, he fixed his residence at Burau, a place belonging to Count Promnitz, where the new-built houses, as well as the beautiful hall in the castle, were very suitable for his purpose; so that he remained there with his domestic church, from the 11th to the 26th of August, and afterwards, from the 9th of September to the 2d of November. From this place, he was easily able to attend to the church at Herrnhut, for he was still an exile; and as the latter was not very far from Burau, he had the pleasure of being visited by many of the brethren and sisters, and of rejoicing over their growth in grace. That these visits might not prove a loss of time, but be beneficial, the Count appointed, from time to time, who should come to Burau, in order that he might have the better opportunity of conferring with them upon the affairs of the church and the state of their own souls.

On the 25th of August, his old friend, Baron Von Watteville, received episcopal consecration, by the imposition of hands, of the Count and Bishop Müller.

Finding that there were also some emigrants from Moravia at Burau, he considered how he might assist them in the

object they had in view on abandoning their native country. He therefore sent for them, and showed them what is given us in Christ, and through him, and by him, and how, by faith in him, we may obtain forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation. They were afterwards spoken to individually, special attention was paid to them, meetings were held for them alone, and Bible lessons given; by which several of these people profited so much, that they were, in the sequel, successfully employed as missionaries to the heathen.

A number of married couples, who had all the intention of proceeding to North America, came to him at Gnadeck (for so he termed the castle at Burau), and commenced their journey from thence; not with the intention of becoming colonists, but with the hope of benefiting the souls of the poor ignorant people, of whom there are many thousands there.

The Count being so well acquainted with the state of things in North America, conversed much with these brethren, and gave them an idea, both of what they would find to do there, and of the manner of commencing the undertaking, so that it might be beneficial to the Saviour's cause.

Towards the end of August and beginning of September, he performed a journey through Silesia, into the principality of Jägerndorf.

He preached several times in Peile, both in going and returning. He also opened the new chapel at Gross Krausche, by preaching the first sermon in it, after which he returned to Burau.

On travelling again through Silesia, in the beginning of November, he was accompanied by the Countess and his son. He made the longest stay at Peile, where he was met by many who held office in the different Moravian churches.

On the 17th of November, brother John Michael Langguth, with the assistance of Bishop Von Wattewille, was ordained co-bishop.

The Count having the intention of proceeding from Burau to Riga, and afterwards to St. Petersburg, in order to place the Moravian cause, which was then much disturbed, in its proper light, was very anxious respecting the due administration of the affairs of the church in his absence.

He was not without fear, lest the brethren should be again drawn into something from whence they might receive injury themselves, and prove of little benefit to others. He had not yet forgotten what had occurred in the single year, during which he had been absent.

He therefore insisted upon it, that the brethren should either relieve him of his office of superintendent, and exonerate him from all responsibility, according to the wish he had expressed three years before, or, that by investing him with new authority, they should place him in a situation, not only to remedy things which were either ill-timed or likely to prove injurious, but also to accomplish that which he regarded as useful and necessary, and according to the will of God.

A document was therefore prepared in answer to the Count's letter, in which he was fully empowered to act in behalf of the Moravian church, which document was signed by the brethren that were present at the time, and handed over to the Count on the 21st of November.

In this document, he was assured, that nothing of any importance should be undertaken without his knowledge and consent, either in the churches and settlements of the brethren, or in the missions, or elsewhere. They also thanked him for his labours in behalf of the church up to that period, and charged him with every thing belonging to the office of superintendent, as expressly as had been done in the year 1733; testifying, at the same time, their distinguished esteem, and particular confidence in him. Finally, they requested him to nominate betimes, his successor to the office, lest the Moravian churches, either by his resignation of it, or his departure out of this life, might fall into difficulties, by which the cause might be injured.

The Count accepted this appointment so far, as to reserve to himself the privilege of explaining himself further upon it, at a proper time, of which more in the sequel.

After the Count had taken leave of the church in Peile, as well as of those who had accompanied him thither, the Countess, his son, and some other brethren proceeded with him to Polish-Lissa, where the former left him, and he prosecuted his journey with his son and the brethren.

On the 23d of December, he arrived in Riga, by way of Königsberg. The ruggedness of the roads and the unpleasantness of the weather, at that time of the year, did not injure his health. Silent intercourse with the Saviour was his chief occupation on the journey, and he was not without a foreboding of what afterwards befell him in Riga.

But before I speak of this, it is necessary that I briefly relate the state of things in Livonia at that time, as far as the brethren were concerned.

When the Count was in that country in 1736, many persons of rank and piety spoke with him upon the wretched state of the native peasantry, and their profound ignorance of divine things. To obviate this, he promised to send catechists for the instruction of the young, to those who should require them. Several accordingly arrived at Wolmarshof, and General Von Hallart's lady made preparations for procuring them a place of residence, where they might instruct those young Livonians, who were intended for schoolmasters to their countrymen. This was the origin of the buildings called the Lammsberg near Wolmar. The general ecclesiastical commission, which was held in that country in 1739, inspected them, inquired minutely into every circumstance, approved of it as a salutary institution, and proposed to the parishioners in all the places whither they came, to send some of their people to Lammsberg, to be similarly prepared for the office of schoolmaster; which advice was followed in many instances, so that the number of pupils in a few years amounted to seventy. The brethren had thus an opportunity of making themselves thoroughly acquainted with the language; the parents of the pupils visited their children, and heard them catechised; the Holy Spirit roused their consciences, and divinely convinced them, that they must perish in the state in which they then were. On this, in the course of a short time, such an awakening took place among the peasantry, and the desire for the gospel was so great, that, with the permission of the superintendent-general, besides the customary discourses of the clergy in the church, the brethren were also permitted to preach the gospel.

This caused an additional number of brethren to be sent for

by the nobility and clergy. To the question, "What have the brethren aimed at and effected in Livonia?" the Count replies, "The brethren have certainly had no other object in view, than to make known Christ crucified, in order to the salvation of souls; and in this, thank God, they have been abundantly successful. But because many of the clergy in Livonia, and particularly in Revel, were much addicted to the principle of Dr. Buddæus, *de restituenda disciplina fratrum*—our brethren have certainly been desirous of cooperating with them, and perhaps all, with one exception, have suffered themselves to be employed for that purpose, notwithstanding my positive declaration to the contrary."

In consequence of the many publications which appeared against the brethren, and of a dissension which arose in Livonia itself, an imperial commission was appointed. Many of the charges brought against the brethren on that occasion, being made known in Germany, through the medium of the press, the Count resolved to appear in Livonia in person, since the Countess had been openly accused as being the foundress of a dangerous sect in that country.

His intention was to put a stop to the measures, which had been taken without his consent and against his express command, with several of the clergy in Revel, to introduce the Moravian discipline into the Lutheran church, without prejudice, however, to the great and astonishing progress which the gospel was making in those parts.

The method he was desirous of taking to accomplish his intentions is evident from a letter to the Livonian government, which he wrote on the 30th of November, during his journey to Riga. He says in it, "His calling, not only with reference to the church at Hernnhut, but to the Moravian church in general, would have long ago incited him to appear in person before the government of Livonia, for the purpose of more convenient communication, and, first of all, thoroughly to investigate, on the spot, the report of the disorders said to have been caused by the brethren, and then to have contributed, as circumstances might require, either to their legitimation or accusation," &c.

His plans, however, were apparently frustrated by a cir-

cumstance which happened to him at Riga; but God so ordered the matter, that the Count had reason to be satisfied with the result of his journey.

For, on his arrival at Riga, on the 23d of December, brother Weiss went to Count Lascy, the Governor-general, to inform him of the circumstance, and to request a pass to St. Petersburg. Count Lascy answered, "that he could do nothing in the matter until he had written to St. Petersburg, and received orders from thence. Meanwhile, he must request Count Zinzendorf to have patience; for he was not at liberty to suffer a person of rank, who had business of importance, to pass without permission."

On this, brother Weiss was accompanied by a serjeant, and conducted to the citadel: but a major came to the Count with the Governor's compliments and a similar answer: that as a delay must take place, till intelligence arrived from St. Petersburg, and since it was to be regretted that the Count had passed the Duna, he was requested to retire across it, when the Governor would visit him. This was as much as to say, that the Count, meanwhile, should take up his abode in the citadel. There he remained with his son, and the rest of the company, until the 12th of January, and occupied himself very assiduously and uninterruptedly, in writing letters and other labours; whilst the captain, who had the charge of him, conducted himself with equal prudence and kindness towards him.

The Saviour was very gracious to the Count during this trial, the result of which he naturally could not know, and gave him the assurance in his heart, that it came from himself, and would terminate very beneficially.

His only concern was, that with a filially resigned heart, he might correspond with the Saviour's intentions, and frustrate them in no respect, either by word or deed.

During this period, he wrote as follows to the Countess:—

"I earnestly entreat you not to take my arrest to heart. I can assure you, that I feel happy at the circumstance, as well as our dear son. If it had not been the Saviour's will, it would not have taken place; for I have had sufficient warning respecting it, to which I not only paid no attention, but even gave occasion to it by my letter to the vice-chancellor, and Count

Lascy. The dealings of God have their aim, and I am fully assured the Saviour will do all things well. The Governor has acted extremely politely, and I can see nothing on his part but good-will. Think of me often. There is now a pretty little band in captivity for the Saviour's sake, and Christian feels a pleasure in enduring something of the kind with his papa. I will send you as much intelligence as I can. Remember, my dear, that we have a Saviour, in whose faithful hands we are, and who guides us graciously and blissfully, although it may sometimes seem strangely, and though we should have chosen a different road, if it had depended upon us. In all my life I have felt an inclination to nothing so little as imprisonment; but now when it is come to this, I am quite satisfied. I cannot say more than what I have formerly told you, that when I am not present, you must seek to fulfil, with double diligence, the duties of my station."

In his letter to her Majesty the Empress of Russia, he mentions, first of all, the reasons which induced him personally to appear in Riga: he then refers to the soundness and purity of his religious sentiments, and his avoiding all sectarianism; and, in conclusion, requests that the case may be minutely investigated.

On the 9th of January, the decision of the Empress was notified to the Count by Prince Mescherzkoi, that he should depart with all speed from her territories, and that her Majesty did not find it necessary to institute any examination with respect to him; on which he requested that he might remain a few days longer, in order to wait the return of the post from St. Petersburg, and to give his accusers an opportunity of instituting an inquiry through the medium of the government, with respect to the events in Livonia, as far as he was concerned.

He also wrote again to the Empress, expressing his respectful acquiescence in her wishes, and requesting that his papers, which had been seized, might be returned to him.

A few days afterwards, he commenced his return: meanwhile, he was interceded for in prayer by the Moravian churches, with much affection, at the same time without apprehension, and in the full assurance that the Lord would bring him safely back again.

A variety of reports were circulated in the public journals, respecting this arrest of the Count, and it was taken into consideration, whether the true state of the affair should not be published; but the Count declined it, and merely assured the public, that he was satisfied with the conduct pursued towards him on this occasion.

The Count arrived at Königsberg, from Riga, on the 21st of January, 1744, and soon after requested the members of the theological faculty, and the clergy there, to institute an inquiry into his principles and conduct.

This being declined, the Count proposed that one of the members of the faculty should be commissioned to confer with him, in order that it might be ascertained, whether the connexion of the Moravian with the Lutheran church were worthy of being preserved: but this proposal was also refused, which pained the Count exceedingly; since he was decidedly of opinion, that the misunderstandings between ministers of the church may be much more properly cleared up by personal conference than by public controversy.

Being meanwhile informed that a variety of things were laid to his charge at Königsberg, and being desirous that an investigation should take place, he was induced, in the month of June, to draw up some questions for the clergy of Königsberg, and send them to the supreme court at Berlin, requesting that the former might be urged to answer them. If these answers had been sent, an opportunity would have been afforded him of explaining himself; but as the former was not done, the latter could not take place.

The Count arrived at Burau on the 11th of February, and remained in Silesia till the 20th of April.

The Countess and his eldest daughter, as well as some of the brethren and sisters who were serving the church at Herrnhut at the time, came from thence to Burau, on hearing of his arrival there.

Soon after this, he received the news of the happy decease of Count Von Promnitz, at Erbach, on the 2d of February. Not long before his end, he had assured one of the brethren at Herrnhut, to whom he was much attached, that he was confident the Saviour would soon graciously receive him to himself, and

bring him to his eternal rest. Under this impression, he had taken leave of this brother, with many tears on both sides.

Being at that time daily with the Count at Burau myself, and visiting the churches in Silesia with him, I had every opportunity of observing him: I found that notwithstanding all the difficulties, of which every day brought its proportion, his heart filially rejoiced in the Lord, and adhered firmly and courageously to the word of God, which he made his constant study.

This I could not ascribe to natural cheerfulness or a superficial mode of thinking, but regarded it as a fruit of that free Spirit, with which God had endowed him. He was, at the same time, full of brotherly love, unwearied in labour, and his whole soul deeply affected when he came to speak of the blood of atonement.

The visits of friends, brethren, and sisters were sometimes so numerous, that occasionally upwards of a hundred were there at one time: the most came from Herrnhut, but various noble, learned, and otherwise distinguished individuals came also from other places.

At the end of February, he visited the churches in Gnadenberg and Gnadenfrey, and still took great pains to render the Moravian churches in Silesia subordinate to the Lutheran consistories: however, he did not attain his object, and was induced by this and various other circumstances, to withdraw himself from the special direction of the Silesian churches, and expressly to request, through Mr. Von Gersdorf, that the rescripts, which had been hitherto addressed to him, might not be sent to him any more.

The minister of state having informed him, that the king would be glad to see a settlement of the brethren at Neusalz, he felt no hesitation as to the measure itself, but was unwilling to take any step in it, until it was duly arranged with the proper authorities in what manner it was to be effected. Meanwhile, two of the brethren, at his suggestion, travelled to Neusalz, to obtain every possible information respecting the place, in order to give the necessary intelligence to the synod, which it would be requisite to hold on the occasion. He had also inspected the place himself, on his journey through Silesia the previous year.

During the Count's visit to Gnadenberg, he composed "The Litany of the Life, Sufferings, and Wounds of our Lord Jesus Christ," which was used for the first time in the church at Gnadenfrey. This Litany goes through all the circumstances of the life, sufferings, and death of our Saviour, with the addition of cordial ejaculations and short prayers.

In the year 1747, the Count publicly discoursed upon this Litany at Herrnhaag, and these discourses were afterwards printed, under the title of "Thirty-four Homilies on the Litany of the Brethren." In 1759, the Count revised these discourses, and altered and omitted many things in them which had given offence to the learned.

Affection for the church in Herrnhut, induced him to pay it a very short visit. He therefore travelled thither in March; and on the 25th, not only addressed each of the choirs in particular, but also preached to the whole church, on the words of Paul, "Christ is the end of the law."

On the 22d April he repeated his visit; and conversed, the same day, with the various officers of the church, upon a variety of necessary subjects. The following day he went with the congregation to receive the sacrament, at the church in Bertholdsdorf; on which occasion many tears were shed, and the grace and presence of the Saviour were perceptibly felt. He spent the remainder of the day in conferring with the heads of the church; then met, individually, the small company of united believers at Bertholdsdorf, and returned to Silesia by way of Leube.

It is evident that the Count soon perceived that the Lord had extraordinary intentions with respect to the Moravian settlements. They were, indeed, undertaken solely for the purpose of avoiding, as much as possible, every thing which might be injurious to the soul, and of being regulated in such a manner as should be the most beneficial to the soul, and promote the glory of God. The Lord also multiplied blessings upon them. He took them under his peculiar care; and not only caused them to grow in his grace and knowledge, but also to prove beneficail to the country in which they had been established.

No one was admitted as a member of a settlement, respecting

whom there was not reason to believe that the Lord himself had called him to it in a special manner; and every one who was deemed worthy of belonging to such a settlement, was enjoined to govern himself most minutely according to its regulations; for God is a God of order, and the Count was of opinion, that in such places, greater strictness was requisite than in those where there was no settlement.

Before the Count left Burau he received intelligence from Russia, that the synod—with reference to the question, What opinion was to be formed of the Moravian church, and of Count Zinzendorf?—had felt induced to commission a learned and experienced archimandrite to peruse the Count's writings, which had been sent, by order of the government, from St. Petersburg to Riga, and to give his opinion upon them. Some time after, he learnt that the archimandrite's decision was, that though it could not be said that the brethren belonged to the Greek church, yet that it was certain they held the same doctrines as were found in Luther's writings.

After the Count had taken an affectionate leave of the brethren and sisters at Burau, and returned thanks to the Saviour, with many tears, for the mercy and faithfulness he had manifested towards him at that place, he set out for Marienborn, where he arrived on the 1st of May. The Countess, with his son and daughter, arrived there on the 9th. Four weeks after, the rest of his children also reached that place; and thus he had his whole family about him.

From this time, the labours incumbent upon a superintendent of the brethren, all fell upon the Count. The brethren were convinced, that our Lord Jesus Christ had chosen him for that purpose, provided him with the needful gifts and grace, and tried him by experience. He did not, therefore, first become the superintendent of all the Moravian churches and missions, by the authority delegated to him the preceding year, but was, in reality, so before, and by that appointment was only publicly recognised as filling the office for which God had destined him.

Nor was it forgotten, that at the synod held in London, in 1741, he had been commissioned, after mature deliberation, to take charge of the affairs of the brethren, and their

missions, with unlimited authority, and continue to do so as long as the case required it.

From this time, therefore, the business of the Unity centred in his house. He presided at the synods of the brethren, between which, conferences were held with him respecting the affairs of the several churches, and the necessary decisions taken. The brethren and sisters, who either went out to the heathen, or ministered to the church in other places, received, in his house, their instructions and dispatches. When they returned, and had finished their mission, they resided with him until they were again employed elsewhere. The publications in the name of the Unity, or for the benefit of the church, were expected from his hand, or his instrumentality; and the correspondence with all the different sections of the churches was likewise connected with the office which he held.

On the 12th of May, he held a synod in Marienborn, which lasted till the 15th of June, and at which I was present. The object of it was, chiefly, to avert the evils which he apprehended with reference to the churches of the brethren. He found, in those that constituted them, a certain difference, arising from their having been trained in different schools, respecting which I will make the following observations:—

The Moravian brethren adhere closely to the words of Scripture. He that peruses their ancient hymn-book will easily find, that they abide by it as closely as possible. The doctrine of the church, and its order and discipline, is at the same time so peculiar to them, that they value it as they do their lives.

The Reformed examine every thing minutely, and are generally very careful and cautious in their expressions. Under their guidance persons become too timid and scrupulous, rather than too bold and courageous.

The Lutherans are wont, when expressing themselves concerning the grace of God in Christ, and faith in him, to speak so freely that it might be thought they said too much, and are rather too bold and courageous than too timid and anxious.

It was the Count's wish, that every one should continue in that which was peculiar to him, which could well consist with a reception into the Moravian church, without assuming any other form. In order to this, the Count, at this synod, went

through the whole catalogue of elders, teachers, and deacons, at home and abroad, and marked down the religious persuasion of every one. In this he had regard to their descendants, and endeavoured to prevent any one from being compelled to continue with the Moravians, or that the latter should seek to retain any one who did not act upon their principles.

It was accordingly resolved, that the three divisions of the brethren—the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Moravian—should each abide by their original confession, and have each their own antistes or bishop.

This was already the case with the Moravians, and Baron Von Wattewille was appointed bishop of the Reformed. To supply the Lutheran division, a call was prepared, and sent to George John Conradi, superintendent-general of the duchies of Schleswick and Holstein.

The Count began also, from this time, to call himself the "Ordinary of the Brethren," and continued to do so until his decease. Several collections of his sermons have also appeared under this title.

Another synod was held at Marienborn, from the 12th to the 31st of October, which had reference, solely, to the inward course and state of the churches. Care was taken, on the one hand, to prevent hypocrisy in the church; and hence it was found not desirable, that people should appear outwardly different from what they were inwardly; and, on the other hand, it was urged, that a walk consistent with the character of real children of God, should proceed from the true principle—love to Jesus, arising from the forgiveness of sins.

With regard to the Count's pastoral labours at this period, I will only generally notice, that whilst ministering to the church in his own house, he by no means withdrew himself from the other churches at Ronneburg, Leustadt, and Lindheim. Scarcely a week passed without his having an opportunity of conferring with some of the brethren who ministered at the above places, respecting them, and of giving the needful advice. And, because he was wont to preach, both at Marienborn and Herrnhaag, on Sundays and festivals, the brethren and sisters, from the other places, generally came thither to hear him. This was especially the case when the communion

was administered, or general meetings were held. He himself visited Lindheim, Ronneburg, and Leustadt, as often as circumstances required it.

Brother Langguth was the Count's immediate fellow-labourer at the first synod in Marienborn, and continued with him in this capacity. The Count, during his visit to Herrnhut, had consecrated his son to be co-elder of the single brethren in all the churches; and, in the sequel, employed him also, as his immediate assistant in the general business of the church.

His daughter Benigna became female superintendent of the church at Herrnhaag, and vice-elder of the sisters; and had, at the same time, the oversight of the seminary for girls. She was likewise often with her father on the business intrusted to her.

In this manner he kept his children and other young persons, who manifested grace and ability, near him, in order that they might grow up, under his eye, in the service of the church.

The support of the pilgrims, the schools for the children, and the theological seminary, was at that time a chief subject of the Count's consideration.

Amongst the former there were, indeed, many who were otherwise well able, by useful labour, to gain something for their support; but they had no opportunity of doing so whilst residing with the Count. It was, besides, foreseen, that they would be compelled again to set out before they had properly entered upon their occupation. It is also not easy to earn any thing by the labour of one's hands, when residing in places where every station is already occupied.

The consequence was, that the Count was placed under the necessity, either of abolishing the pilgrim-church, and of giving up the schools for children, and the theological seminary, or of providing for their wants. The latter was resolved upon, and accomplished by the united efforts of himself, his consort, and a few brethren and sisters whom he regarded as belonging to his family. But as even this was not sufficient, the sums required were borrowed, partly by them, and partly by the deacons.

The office of syndic to the Moravian church, added, also, considerably to the labours of the Count at this period: for a variety of things having arisen in England, America, and in other places, which seemed to have originated more from a misunderstanding than with the intention of oppressing innocent people, he thought it his duty, by a true statement of the case, to prevent or remove the evil.

He sent to England, on the occasion of some movements with respect to the Methodists, "A Declaration on what terms the labours amongst some thousands of souls in England had been hitherto carried on, at their pressing request, and would be prosecuted in future."

The disturbances in England at this time, which had reference to the Pretender, caused the brethren in America some suffering: for certain individuals, who were not acquainted with them, hit upon the idea that they were Papists in disguise, who went to live amongst the Indians for the purpose of drawing them away from the English, and over to the French party. Hence, an Act was passed in the Assembly of New York, forbidding the brethren to live amongst the Indians; and, on this occasion, some of them were ordered to abandon the latter in the province of New York, and others were imprisoned, both in New York and New England.

The Count, therefore, gave himself much trouble to state the real truth to the board for managing the affairs of the North American colonies. Soon after, the above-mentioned Act of the Assembly of New York was annulled; and the brethren, who had risked their lives in the mission to the Indians, were left at peace.

I must here also observe, that the Count's opponents did not neglect to use the arm of the civil power against him and the brethren; and that in this year, more than one public edict appeared against the Count and the brethren.

With respect to this, the Count was wont to express himself as follows:—"If such edicts are to prove any thing against me, the authorities that issue them must first examine me and the brethren, with respect to life and doctrine, so that both sides may be heard; which is only just and right. Where this has not been done, the edicts in favour of me and the

brethren, prove as little that we are in the right, as those that are against us demonstrate the truth of what is laid to our charge."

For this reason, he always proposed that he might be heard; and this was an object of importance to him. Whenever it took place the result was, that the innocence of the brethren was recognised: but, in many places, hinderances were laid in the way of any proper and legal investigation.

With regard to the missions, the following circumstances occurred this year, in which the Count took a prominent part.

The brethren continued their labours successfully amongst the negroes in the Danish West India Islands: but they were not a little perplexed on hearing that only one brother would be permitted to act as preacher to the negroes, and that in case of his death, no one would be allowed to occupy his place, before the royal permission was obtained for that purpose. On receiving intelligence of this, representations were made to the king of Denmark direct, showing how much the mission would be injured by it, since deaths so frequently occurred on those unhealthy islands; and the king was induced to issue an order to the President and Directors of the West India and Guinea Companies, that the Moravian brethren should be permitted, besides the regular teacher, to appoint four or five assistants to minister to the heathen, if necessary.

The Count was uncommonly gratified by this desirable result of his efforts, and sent, the same year, the requisite number of brethren to St. Thomas, who were also mentioned in the royal edict of the 28th of December.

The return of brother Schmidt, who had been several years at the Cape, and taken much pains with the Hottentots, and who had also the joy of seeing some of them converted to Jesus, who manifested their faith in him, caused the Count pleasure, since he was desirous that he should refresh himself once more with the church. But, foreseeing that it would be difficult for him to return to the Cape, as afterwards proved to be the case, he felt grieved at it on that account; since he rejoiced in nothing so much, as in bringing sinners to Jesus.

With respect to the Count's publications this year, I will

only notice his answer to Bengel's work, entitled "Remarks on the Moravian Church."

I loved and valued both the Count and Dean Bengel, from the first hour I became acquainted with them. They both loved the Saviour, and sought, each in his own way, the glory of God, and the good of his fellow-creatures. I am also fully assured, that they cordially loved and esteemed each other.

But as much was spoken and written at this time with respect to the brethren, the dean was also induced to express his sentiments upon them, and particularly concerning the Count. He did so, in the remarks above mentioned; manuscript copies of which were circulated, before it appeared in print. The Count was induced to accompany it with brief replies, and thus send it to the press.

After the mortgage of Marienborn had been transferred from Mr. Beuning to the Count, and the latter was now more at liberty to make use of it as a residence, he thought fit to erect there a private printing press.

He also formed a private burial-ground, on a little eminence near the castle garden, for the use of his family. The first person interred there, was the negro Andrew, one of the first-fruits of the poor slaves in St. Thomas.

Towards the end of June, the Count travelled to Wetzlar, to carry into effect an intention formed in Pennsylvania, which was, the renunciation of his title, and in which he had proceeded as far as it was practicable. He now resolved fully to terminate this matter: but, on speaking of it to Count Vermond, the lord-chancellor, the latter pointed out such important reasons why he must, by all means, advise him to the contrary, that the Count abandoned that resolution, but reflected the more seriously how he might, in another manner, attain the object which he had in view in the renunciation of his title.

At the same time, he found an opportunity of conversing with Count Vermond, at some length, concerning the brethren and their affairs, and was extremely gratified with his answer.

On the 21st of September, the Count proceeded to Gotha, and conversed with the Duke, respecting the manner in

which the inhabitants of Neudietendorf were to be treated in reference to ecclesiastical matters. He had also an interview with Count Gotter, from whom Neudietendorf had been purchased, with respect to several points, which required arranging.

At Erfurt he took the trouble to attend the sermons of the clergy, and for this purpose, went to most of the Lutheran churches. He also did not fail to speak with some of them, and express his sentiments. Seeing, on this occasion, that they took an improper view of the brethren, in whose service he was engaged, and to whom this phenomenon in the Lutheran church, which he regarded as a wonder of Divine grace, was still too much unknown, brother Langguth was induced to address a letter, at his suggestion, to the whole of the clergy of Erfurt, which afterwards appeared in print.

Notwithstanding all the contempt with which the Count was treated by those to whom his conduct was still an enigma, he was highly esteemed by many who did not belong to the Moravian church; and it might be said of him, what the sons of Heth said to Abraham, "Thou art a prince of God amongst us." (Gen. xxiii. 6.) Many of the learned, and persons of rank, regarded it as a favour, to have an opportunity of being occasionally with him, and enjoying his company. Hence people often met in his house, who would otherwise never have come together. Several princely and noble personages also visited him about this time, and did not repent having done so.

He now began to accustom himself to be more frequently alone, and withdrew himself both from his visiters and fellow-labourers, without distinction of persons, for the purpose of reflecting before God on the various things he had to attend to. When he returned to his daily labour, it was in a tranquil and happy frame. He thought, and found it to be the case from experience, that no one required more to be continually renewed and strengthened by filial and intimate intercourse with the Saviour, than a minister of the church, who has much occupation.

Polemical attacks upon him continued to be made, and he had himself put weapons into the hands of his adversaries, by

some expressions respecting the Trinity: besides which, the Count used many very uncommon terms, because he regarded it necessary to excite attention, and cause reflection. In his writings he made use of a language, to which divines were unaccustomed; and it would have been well if his opponents had first ascertained the Count's true meaning: but this was not the case, and therefore much contradiction was excited.

Under such circumstances, the Count felt induced frequently to seek retirement, and converse with his Lord and Saviour upon the subject. He then became assured, that the evil one had his hand in the matter, and intended much injury to the church. It also became equally clear to him, that God would, eventually, accomplish the object which the adversary was opposing. Hence he was courageous in every adverse season; and when his fellow-labourers were often much distressed on account of the attacks made upon him and their evil consequences, he encouraged them, and assured them that God would in due time set bounds to the evil.

CHAPTER VI.

PROCEEDINGS AT MARIENBORN—JOURNEYS—RELIGIOUS SCHISM AT HERRNHAAG—CRITICAL SITUATION OF THE CHURCH—SYNOD AT ZEIST—MARRIAGE OF HIS DAUGHTER—VOYAGE TO ENGLAND—ACT OF PARLIAMENT FOR EXEMPTION FROM OATHS—RETURN TO THE CONTINENT—SYNOD AT HERRNHAAG—BANISHMENT REVERSED—VISIT TO UPPER LUSATIA—COMMISSION OF INQUIRY—RETURN TO WETTERAVIA—DEPARTURE FOR HOLLAND AND ENGLAND—SYNOD IN LONDON—ACT OF PARLIAMENT IN FAVOUR OF THE BRETHREN—JOURNEY TO FULNECK—BREAKING UP OF HERRNHAAG—SYNOD IN LONDON—RETURN TO THE CONTINENT—JOURNEYS—SYNOD AT BARBY—ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND—PECUNIARY TROUBLES—DEATH OF HIS SON—SICKNESS—JOURNEYS—ORDINATION OF AN ENGLISH BISHOP—RETURN TO HERRNHUT—WAR IN SAXONY—SYNOD OF THE UNITY—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE COUNTESS.

In the year 1745, two synods were held at Marienborn: the first lasted from the 4th to the 27th of January, when a variety of subjects relative to the well-being of the church were discussed. The dividing the Moravian church into three sections, of which we have already spoken, was again brought forward. The Count, in the first instance, had not expressed himself sufficiently clearly, and very few of the brethren were willing to interfere in the matter. Most of them were inclined to the episcopal church, and would have been glad if every thing had been comprehended in it: but the Count was indefatigable, both at that time and in the sequel, in showing the brethren how useful and necessary it was, that the *Tropi*, or three great ecclesiastical sections of the Unity, should be kept distinct. He was obliged to suffer himself to be opposed in this, by individuals, who otherwise loved and honoured him, although he felt so assured that it was acceptable to God, that he did not suffer himself to be drawn away from his purpose, and, at length, succeeded in convincing them of the necessity of the thing.

The Count, on this occasion also, expressed himself in very plain terms, respecting the church of the United Brethren. It was now upwards of twenty years since he had devoted himself to it: since that period the Lord had done much for them. They again possessed their ecclesiastical statutes, the use of which had been blest to them. Our Lord Jesus Christ had sent life and spirit amongst them. They found admission in many places, and their labours were successful amongst heathens and Christians. The Count was, however, not without apprehensions, and therefore impressively exhorted them to the strict and conscientious discharge of their duties.

The second synod of this year commenced on the 11th of July, and lasted till the 27th of that month. Although the whole country about Marienborn was filled with Austrian, English, and French troops, yet the brethren assembled to the number of two hundred at the synod; and just before its commencement, the troops, which had lain there for a couple of months, unexpectedly broke up, in consequence of which all fear of disturbance vanished.

The Count proposed to the synod for deliberation, whether something, which had been formerly customary in the Moravian church, could not be usefully renewed amongst them. He thought, for instance, it might be well if the brethren had *seniores civiles*, who should be commissioned to take charge of the secular affairs of the church, which did not altogether accord with the duties of the bishops.

This proposition being agreed to, suitable individuals were thought of, who possessed the necessary qualifications for the office, and were esteemed by the brethren for their integrity. The choice fell upon Frederick Von Wattewille and Abraham Von Gersdorf, as the principal *seniores*, and Charles Henry Von Peistel and James Schillinger, as the *con-seniores civiles*, of the Moravian church.

Besides this, the Count proposed to the synod, whether they ought not also to appoint deacons and deaconesses according to the custom of the ancient church; since the former might be employed in preaching the gospel, administering the sacraments, visiting the sick, &c.—and the latter in a variety of cases relative to their own sex.

The Moravian church had, indeed, already its deacons, but only as it respected the secular affairs of the church. Hitherto, however, there had been none according to the idea just stated, in the renovated churches of the brethren, but only bishops and presbyters; and the female assistants amongst the sisters were not called deaconesses, nor ordained to their office.

After this proposition of the Count's had been considered and unanimously agreed to, some of the brethren and sisters were ordained deacons and deaconesses by imposition of hands.

With respect to confirmation also, some regulations were adopted at this synod: this term had reference to those who devoted themselves to the Saviour, and the service of the church, and bound themselves to obey his call. It was resolved, that it should be called in future, acceptance as Acoluths, or Acolytes; in remembrance of the former custom of the brethren, to have amongst them Acoluths, who attended upon the ministers, and were thus trained up to the service of the church.

After the first synod was ended, the Count set out on a journey to Holland, accompanied by the Countess. Although he had employed the 10th of February, the whole night, and the next day, in giving the necessary instructions and preparing for his departure, yet he was unable to leave before ten o'clock in the evening. On taking up his quarters, at a place two leagues beyond Hanau, an inn close by, in which he wished to have lodged, all at once burst into flames. The whole of the journey was unpleasant, because the French troops were lying in their winter-quarters, on the borders of Holland, and it was therefore difficult to find lodgings. However, he arrived safely at his destination.

The Count being assured that many of the Dutch clergy, especially in Amsterdam, taught faithfully the all-availing righteousness of Jesus Christ, and preached against self-righteousness, would have been glad if one of the ministers of the Amsterdam Classis would have undertaken the presidency of the reformed section of the church of the brethren, in the room of Baron Von Wattewille: but the result did not correspond with his wishes. His labour was not, however, entirely lost; for, on this occasion, many misunderstandings were removed from the minds of several members of the Classis.

Besides this affair, the Count was very anxious respecting the missions to the heathens, and reflected how those things might be prevented, which might prove injurious to them. He therefore recapitulated in several places, where he found it necessary, the ideas which the Moravian church had expressed in the year 1740, respecting its labours amongst the heathen.

There were also brethren in Holland, some of whom were proceeding to Greenland, and others to St. Thomas. To these he showed much affection, consoled them with respect to the trials they had already endured, accompanied them with his prayers and benedictions, and took care that they were provided with all they needed for their voyage.

The Count also visited Heerendyk, and thought it best, according to the circumstances in which the colony of the brethren were then placed, to procure them another place of residence. For this purpose, the barony of Zeist was purchased, where the brethren still enjoy their desired liberty, under a beloved government.

After his return from Holland, towards the end of April, he interested himself for the brethren in Prussia; for he believed that the treatment they had received was at variance with the privileges granted them by the king: he therefore complained of it, both by letter and through the medium of others. At length he resolved to go himself to Berlin, and accordingly set out in the beginning of October. He took with him his eldest son and daughter, in order to gratify his mother. The Countess and Baron Von Wattewille, who had been staying at Herrnhut, arrived at the same time: they were all received by the Count's mother, with expressions of particular pleasure.

He remained in Berlin till the 20th of October, and gave himself much trouble in speaking with all those who possessed any direct or indirect influence over that which concerned the brethren, and likewise found opportunity of thoroughly explaining himself respecting the differences that had arisen. This was attended with such effect, that more than one of the king's ministers expressed their willingness powerfully to protect the brethren against any thing that was contrary to the privileges granted them. During his residence in Berlin he had also a gracious audience of the queen-dowager, who invited him to dinner.

From Berlin, the Count travelled to Neusalz, and inspected the commencement of the Moravian settlement there. He then went to Burau, where he stayed some days. The brethren who ministered to the churches in Gnadenberg and Gnadenfrey came thither to him, and he held a conference with them, on the 27th and 28th of October. He then returned to Marienborn, by way of Neudietendorf, where he inspected all the arrangements made by the brethren.

After his return to Marienborn, he prosecuted his labours with great assiduity, and held frequent conferences with those who ministered to the church. On the 30th of November, he began a synodal conference, which had reference to the internal progress of the church: it lasted till the 9th of December. In the public session, there were not less than a hundred and thirty individuals, but the more private conferences were only attended by about twenty.

He also took particular charge of the theological seminary, which at that time consisted of fifty persons, and an equal number had been already appointed to various situations—some to go amongst the heathen, and others amongst Christians, according as they were required. In this manner, they were scattered over Germany, Holland, England, Scotland, America, Switzerland, France, Denmark, Sweden, Livonia, Esthonia, &c.

From this time, many things arose in the church, which afterwards caused the Count great pain. It was out of his power to prevent the increase of the churches; one result of which was, that many were admitted, who, though possessed of an undeniable inclination for a pious life, brought with them many natural and habitual failings, as well as mystical and fanatical principles. These persons soon became intimate with others already in the church, who were destitute either of principle or experience, and proved injurious rather than beneficial to each other. The evil did not, however, immediately manifest itself.

Herrnhaag had not at this time any ecclesiastical statutes, for the Count was of opinion that it was not sufficient to render people moral and orderly, because every thing ought to proceed from the heart. He proposed, however, that ecclesiastical discipline should not be left in the hands of those to whom the pastoral duties were entrusted, but to other persons

appointed for that purpose, under the control of the *seniores civiles;* but he was unable to arrange it according to his wishes.

Hence the people alluded to above, had more liberty than they were able to make a good use of. They fell into a number of extravagancies and frivolities, which, though customary in the world, are inconsistent with the vocation of a child of God, and a servant of Jesus Christ. What the Count had said of spiritual poverty and childlikeness, was misconstrued and abused by them.

In my opinion, it would have been well if the adversary had been opposed at the very outset, and a stop put to these irregularities; and I feel assured, that if the Count had known it from the first, he would not have refrained from warmly opposing things which were unbecoming a church of Christ. But there were two reasons why he was not immediately informed of them; first, because he did not like to hear complaints against the brethren, and often received those coolly who made him acquainted with them; so that almost every one scrupled to mention them to him. But where he heard of any thing of a culpable nature, the warmth he manifested was often so great, that it was feared he would act too harshly towards those who were culpable. However, when the Count was subsequently informed of what had occurred with the people above mentioned, it had already risen to such a height, that he could not immediately interfere, without rejecting a great many of them at once. He resolved, therefore, to let the matter take its course, until it arrived at maturity; and felt assured, that the Lord would grant him grace to repel and extirpate the evil. Previous to that time, he preferred being spared with the relation of particulars, because he regarded it as injurious to know things before he was able to remedy them.

At the time when these things were occurring in some congregations of the brethren, very uncommon expressions also began to be used in speaking and writing, which at length sunk into a mere play upon words. The Count, in his usual yielding manner, also made use of these new-coined expressions, believing that they sprang from a tender and filial love to the

Saviour. His intention was to continue in connexion with those of the brethren who used this new phraseology, and in due time to interfere, if it should be carried too far. But on seeing that it was unintelligible to persons out of the Moravian church, whom he regarded as children of God, he felt ashamed that he had given way so far. He also publicly professed his conviction before the church, that though the Saviour, who knew best the motives from which he acted, was not displeased with him, yet he would scarcely be able to make men comprehend the reason of his acting so strangely.

Amongst the many benefits, for which the Count returned heartfelt thanks to God at the close of the year, must be mentioned, especially, the Divine protection which the congregations of the brethren had experienced during the disturbances of war, when they were frequently, according to human appearance, in the greatest danger; and when Marienborn, the Ronneburg, Lindheim, and Herrnhaag, in consequence of the proximity of opposing armies, hung like a drop on the bucket. But the good hand of the Lord averted every evil, so that the brethren not only remained unmolested, but even many things, which appeared of an adverse nature, turned out to their advantage. The Count himself had also sensibly experienced this gracious protection, both at home and on his journeys. The many consolatory watchwords for that year induced the brethren to hope that the war would soon terminate; and this was also in part fulfilled by the treaty concluded at Dresden, on the 25th of December, the anniversary of the birth of the Prince of Peace.

The extravagancies of various members of the church, which we have alluded to above, caused the Count much sorrow. Many of the brethren and sisters expressed their serious displeasure at such like things; but others sought, as much as possible, to excuse those that were guilty of them; or maintained, that notwithstanding their levity, they meant nothing evil, and must not therefore be treated with too much severity. Hence arose two parties, which gradually increased in numbers. Those who abused their liberty, despised the rest who scrupled to do so; the latter, on the contrary, passed a severe judgment on those who were either devoted to libertinism

in one way or other, or pleaded its cause. Many of the members of the church mourned over this state of things in silence, and made it a matter of prayer and supplication before God.

The Count was dissatisfied with both parties, and could neither endure levity nor the harsh judgments passed upon those who were accused of it. He was also particularly grieved that his fellow-labourers were divided in their opinions on the subject; and he thought, that if they were only unanimous in love, the confusion in the church would soon be allayed, and order restored.

However, he continued indefatigable in his labours, notwithstanding his frequent indispositions, and as often as the case required, surmounted his weakness. He carefully portioned out his time, with the individuals with whom it was necessary to confer, either with respect to the affairs of the missions or the church.

Of his pastoral labours, I will only mention the following:— On the 6th of January, on the occasion of the marriage of twelve couple at Marienborn, he delivered an address, and pronounced a benediction upon them, accompanied by heartfelt prayer. These marriages were solemnized by twelve ministers of the Moravian church: amongst them were Pratten, the African, and Rebecca, an American, both mulattos. On the 10th of January, he baptized, in the church at Marienborn, a Malabar Indian, whom a cousin of Martin Dober's had induced to accompany him from the East Indies to Europe, in order to visit the brethren. The preaching of redemption by the blood of Christ had reached his heart, and there was reason to rejoice at the grace he had received. The baptism took place before the whole church; and, in the consciousness of the Saviour's peculiar presence, the name of Samuel Johannes was given him. He went some years afterwards to North America, and departed this life happily at Bethlehem.

This year (1745) the Count attained his object with regard to the presidency of the Reformed part of the Union. The Rev. Mr. Cochius, chaplain to the king of Prussia, had been unanimously chosen to this office by the Count's fellow-labourers, and accepted the call to it on the 2d of October.

When the Austrian troops, on their march to the Rhine, came into the neighbourhood of Marienborn, several of the officers at various times appeared there, desiring to speak with the Count. This occasionally caused anxiety, especially when they were attended with a numerous retinue: but they were all of them, as was afterwards sufficiently evident, persons who were friendly to the brethren, and sought for nothing but a blessing for their hearts. One of them urgently entreated that his niece, whose heart the Lord had touched, might be received into the church; and although every possible objection was made to it, yet at length the request was granted. She returned, indeed, after a few years to Hungary, at the request of her relatives, in order not to cause any unpleasantness to the church, but came again and continued in the choir-house of the unmarried sisters at Zeist, until her happy end.

In short, the Lord continued to protect the Count's habitation from all the evils which are to be apprehended at such seasons. He also received intelligence, at the beginning of the year, that Herrnhut had been protected from all disturbance, by a safeguard signed by the king of Prussia himself.

The Count then undertook another journey to Holland, and safely arrived with his company, on the 10th of April, at Zeist, not far from Utrecht.

Being desirous of holding a synod there, and the use of the castle being indispensable for that purpose, he made the necessary arrangements with the lord of the manor. He also preached from the words, "Instead of thy fathers shall be thy children."

As at that time many of the brethren resided at Heerendyk, and many strangers were on a visit there; he therefore went thither for a few days, preached several times, and celebrated the festival of admission into the church, on the 17th of April. Respecting that occasion, he says, "This is the day* which, in the ancient church, was called 'White-Sunday,' because all those who had been baptized the previous year, presented

* Viz. The Sunday after Easter; called, also, in the primitive church, The Sunday, *Quasi modo geniti*,—in allusion to 1 Peter ii. 2.

themselves on this Sunday to the church in white raiment, in remembrance of the promise, that those who were sealed, should surround the throne of the Lamb in white robes."

Since that time, this day has always been appropriated, by the Moravian churches, as a festival for the brethren and sisters who have been admitted into them during the previous year.

On the 2d of May, the Count again visited Heerendyk, when the single brethren celebrated the festival of their choir, and spoke of the growth of Jesus in wisdom and favour with God and man, and how they ought to benefit by the consideration of it.

On the 18th of April, he travelled by way of Utrecht to Amsterdam, where he arrived late in the evening, with brother David Nitschman, at Mr. Von Laer's. At midnight, he lay down to rest, and Nitschman slept in the same room with him. Towards three o'clock in the morning, the latter suddenly awoke, as if some one had shaken him violently; he immediately sprang out of bed, and hastened to the Count. He found his candle burnt out, and the table on which it stood, his pocket-handkerchief and the bed-clothes, on fire; even the Count's night-gown was already singed. He was much terrified, but possessed sufficient presence of mind to extinguish the fire on the table with water, which was fortunately at hand, and press it out of the bed-clothes with his hands. He did all this so quickly, that neither the Count himself nor any one in the house was disturbed. He then spent the remainder of the night awake, and thanked the Lord for his preserving care. But the Count continued to sleep quietly, and, on awaking, knew nothing of what had happened, until he heard of it from Nitschman's statement, and saw the traces of it.

He remained in Amsterdam till the 29th of April, and found no want of employment. When he could be alone, he laboured diligently at the watchwords for the ensuing year. He had already selected them in Marienborn, but in Holland he reflected separately upon each, and added short collects to them. He also wrote several important letters, prepared the plan for the approaching synod, held several special conferences, and devoted the rest of the time to intercourse with friends and brethren. Occasionally he retired with some of

the brethren to a summer-house not far from the city, but was sought out there also by his friends, who strove to make his visit as useful to them as possible. On returning to Amsterdam, he consented to minister the word of the gospel, and preached repeatedly to them. On the 29th of April, he again repaired to Utrecht, and the day following to Zeist, where he found many of the brethren who had arrived there from Germany.

On the 4th of May he again visited Amsterdam, and shortly after many of the brethren from England, Denmark, Switzerland, Silesia, &c. arrived, in order to be present at the synod. The Count had also the pleasure of seeing his brother-in-law, Count Reuss, with his consort and son: at the same time, the Countess and his children arrived in Holland.

The brethren who were expected to be present at the synod being assembled, the Count addressed them, on the 11th of May, upon the principal object of synods: but there being many other persons present at Zeist besides the brethren who belonged to the synod, the Count endeavoured to make such arrangements as that all might be benefited.

He therefore held meetings, first of all, at which they could attend, as well as the members of the synod. Letters, intelligence, and treatises were read in them, which were of a nature to be communicated to the whole company. Much was also discussed in them concerning the labours of the brethren, the principal points of doctrine to be taught, and the difficulties which required to be overcome. The Count also preached frequently, and pointed out the fundamental principles of the thoughts, words, and actions of a minister of Christ.

Besides these open sittings, he held twenty-two special conferences upon the affairs of the church and the missions, and also conversed individually with friends and brethren previous to their departure. From hence it may be inferred how the Count's time was employed at this synod.

Conradi, the superintendent-general, having refused the offer of antistes to the Lutheran section of the Moravian church, on the plea of age and weakness, the attention of the synod was directed to the election of some other person: but the Count fearing lest some one should be chosen, who might be too strongly biassed in favour of the Moravian church, in so

far as it is distinguished from the Lutheran and Reformed, resolved to undertake it himself *pro tempore*, to which no one had any objection.

The Count, who, in the year 1743, had declared in the synod held at Hirschberg, that he would no longer devote himself to the service of the churches of the brethren, unless they invariably professed themselves as belonging to the Augsburg confession,—wished also to bring the synod at Zeist to a similar resolution. But the unreasonable animosity and furious calumnies of the Lutheran clergy against the brethren, were commented upon in such severe terms, and proved by such incontestable evidence, that he could not hinder the synod from coming to the following conclusion: "That although they were really attached to the doctrines of that confession, yet they would not formally declare it in Holland, before they were sufficiently assured of a better and more sincere observance of the articles *de adiaphoris et disciplina*."

At this period, also, the marriage of the Baron John Von Wattewille with the Countess Benigna Von Zinzendorf took place, and thus was one of the Count's most earnest wishes fulfilled. He had devoted and brought up his children to the service of the Saviour and the church; and his daughter, though young, had been blessed in her labours. Johannes Langguth, Baron Frederick Von Wattewille's adopted son, being his next assistant, the Count himself proposed the marriage with his daughter. The affair was delayed awhile, after being agreed upon on both sides: for as Baron Von Wattewille laboured with success amongst the single brethren, so the Countess Benigna was not less diligent amongst the unmarried sisters; and it was thought proper that they should continue thus useful for a while longer. But the Count now made preparations for the solemnization of the marriage, first of all requesting his consort's consent to it, which she gave in writing with her cordial benediction; and on this they were joined in marriage, in the presence of the whole church, by the imposition of hands of the Count, who gave a very heartfelt and comprehensive address on the occasion, upon the duties of the marriage state, and the object of this marriage in particular.

After the termination of the synod, the Count returned to Amsterdam, after his consort and her brother, Count Reuss and his lady, had already left Zeist. Whilst holding family worship there, at which some friends were present, a crowd of people assembled before the house, and endeavoured to force their way in. Fearing a variety of disturbances, he advised the brethren in Amsterdam to apply, in a suitable manner, to the magistrates for permission to hold their meetings publickly. The affairs of the missions also caused him much occupation. The Lord had not frustrated his hopes, that people of all nations would be brought to the knowledge of the Saviour. The heathen to whom the Gospel had been preached, belonged to a greater number of different nations than the writer can venture to name, because of its seeming improbability.

The Count was now desirous, for important reasons, to undertake a voyage to England. He wished to have further conversation with the brethren who preached to the church there, and was especially desirous of communicating further with the Archbishop of Canterbury respecting the cause of the brethren in England. He also wished, when in England, to regulate several things relative to the churches of the brethren in America, and their labours amongst the heathen.

Both the voyage to England and a residence there, were, at that time, not without danger: for, in consequence of the war with France, the Channel was filled with French privateers; whilst, in England itself, the disturbance occasioned by the rebellion was not yet over. The Count, however, did not let these things hinder him; and took the precaution to provide himself at the Hague with a passport, both from the English and French ambassadors. The company which attended him being numerous, it was resolved to hire a vessel for the occasion; but the Count being desirous of reaching England before them, in order to make the necessary arrangements, proceeded, on the 10th of July, to Helvoetsluys, arrived on the 18th in London, and took up his residence in Red-Lion Square.

The vessel on board of which his company was, after being driven back by contrary winds, was obliged to lay at anchor in

the Meuse. Six weeks elapsed before the wind became favourable, and this period of waiting was very painful to the Count. At length, he had the pleasure of welcoming them all in England on the 7th of September.

The brethren being all assembled, the Count commenced the synodal conferences with them on the 13th of September. The position of the brethren in England, with reference to the episcopal church, formed the chief subject of consideration.

It had been already proposed, that such members of the Church of England as joined the brethren, should not abandon fellowship with the former. The Count had meanwhile maintained a friendly correspondence with Archbishop Potter, and had also communicated to him a variety of documents relative to the affairs of the Moravian church, in which the latter took peculiar interest.

The affairs of the brethren in the English provinces of North America, were also taken into due consideration. Their labours being continually on the increase, a company proceeded from London to Philadelphia, at the end of September, to assist them. But, previous to this, John Frederick Cammerhof, from the Protestant convent at Closter Bergen, was ordained co-bishop, on the 25th of September, by the bishops of the Moravian church then present in London.

A law had been passed in North America, that if the missionaries of the brethren there should refuse to make oath, that no one had any right to the crown of England except King George, they should be cast into prison, without the privilege of bail. Many of the brethren had scrupled to take this oath, in order not to cause offence to those in America who regard such an act as sinful; and, consequently, many of them had been imprisoned. Now, though the law above mentioned had been abolished, yet the Count was afraid lest similar things should occur in future, in the British provinces, unless the brethren were exempted from taking the oath above mentioned by act of parliament. This he therefore endeavoured to accomplish, and spoke with those gentlemen who had it in their power to aid him in the measure. The latter took up the matter with such zeal that, on the 25th of December, 1747,

an act of parliament* was passed, exempting the brethren from the oath above mentioned.

During the time of the Count's residence in England, the rebellion was suppressed, and the son of the Pretender expelled from the country. The Count participated in the general joy on this occasion, and did not omit publickly to return thanks to God in the chapel of the brethren in London, and cordially to commend the King and his family to the Divine protection and blessing.

But as in such seasons of confusion persons are frequently suspected, whether innocent or guilty, it happened that the suspicions of the populace in Yorkshire were excited against the brethren there. An individual had been heard to say, that he would give a hundred pounds if the people would fall upon the brethren. They were therefore commended to the Divine protection; and the Countess Benigna and her husband travelled to Yorkshire, at the Count's request, to visit and comfort the brethren during the impending danger.

Having ascertained that a certain General, a friend of his, was imprisoned in London, and being ignorant of the reason of it, he sent persons to visit him in his distressing circumstances, and offered him all the assistance in his power. The General took this proof of friendship very kindly, and spoke candidly with the brethren who came to see him and assure him of the Count's fidelity and affection. He asserted his innocence, but at the same time acknowledged that he was not sure of making it appear in court. Meanwhile, he would resign himself to God; and if he thought fit that he should lose his life upon an unjust accusation, he would not murmur, but think he had deserved it by his other sins: for he had experienced many drawings of the grace of God in his heart, but had been disobedient to them. But if his innocence should be made manifest, he would heartily thank God for it. The latter took place before the Count left London; and he was not only declared innocent, but reinstated in all his offices. Meanwhile the Count visited him in prison, and the General never forgot this proof of his friendship.

* The brethren are called in it "a sober, quiet, and industrious people;" and it is also stated, that they had always conducted themselves as such.

The following circumstances, relative to the Count's visit to England at this time, must also be noticed.

Many Englishmen had made themselves acquainted with the German language, for the following reason, amongst others, that they might understand the Count's sermons and writings. Being requested by these and many others to preach to them, he consented, and preached not only on Sundays, but also on week-days, at the Chapel of the Brethren in London.

On the 10th of October, he had a conference with a number of preachers, on the successful administration of the pastoral function.

On paying a friendly visit to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he also inspected the library at Lambeth, and again deposited there several important documents.

Thomas Penn, the proprietor and governor of Pennsylvania, visited the Count, and conversed with him on several important points relative to the brethren residing in that province.

The Rev. John Cennick, who came from Ireland, conversed with him upon the flourishing state of the cause of Christ in that island, which was attended with important consequences, with reference to its continuation and progress.

The Princess of Wales condescended to converse for a considerable time with a sister belonging to the Count's establishment, who had been known to her many years before in Gotha, respecting the affairs of the Moravian church.

Sir Luke Schaub, an old friend of the Count's, whom he had known in France, sought him out in England, and renewed their former friendship.

The Count made an excursion to Buttermeer, in Essex, a country-house belonging to Mrs. Stonehouse, whither he removed the school for boys, which had hitherto been kept at Broadoaks.

In the beginning of November, the Count set out on his return to Holland. Several of the London brethren accompanied him to Harwich, in order to converse still further with him upon a variety of subjects connected with the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. On the 3d, he went on board the packet-boat, and, after encountering a storm, landed the following day at Helvoetsluys: from thence he went by way of

Heerendyk to Zeist, where about fifty of the brethren and sisters from Amsterdam and Haerlem awaited him. It being the day of the general meeting when he arrived, he seized the opportunity to communicate pleasing intelligence, as well as to edify them by a discourse. And after spending a few days at Zeist, he took his departure on the 11th, and arrived in Wetteravia on the 17th.

He remained at Marienborn only a few days, having engaged to pay a visit to Ebersdorf, where he arrived on the 25th of November. A misunderstanding had, for some time, prevailed between the church at Ebersdorf and the churches of the Brethren; and the Lord blessed the efforts of the Count to remove it, which was accomplished to mutual satisfaction.

During his stay in that place, the Countess and her children, together with some of his immediate assistants, and some of the brethren and sisters, also arrived there. He likewise received letters with important news from various districts and countries, which fully occupied him.

Besides the Watchwords for the year following, several of his discourses were printed. He also commenced a defence of himself in the periodical publications, two articles respecting which appeared in the month of December.

After the Count had happily terminated his business at Ebersdorf, he returned to Marienborn on the 23d of December, and concluded the year with the solemnities customary at that season.

Count Isenburg-Meerholz having made known his wish to be again put in possession of Marienborn, the Count resolved to leave that place, until he saw how the matter would terminate. He therefore removed to the house which had been built for him at Herrnhaag, in which was the hall appointed for the daily assemblies. For although he was not satisfied with the contract made by the brethren at Herrnhaag with the house of Büdingen in his absence, and therefore set certain bounds to his labours; yet still, as regarded the church in Herrnhaag, he felt obliged to do more than he had hitherto

done. There was, besides, another reason—the danger with which Herrnhaag was at that time remotely menaced. The occupation of this place had taken a different turn to what was anticipated at the date of the first contract. There were only a few of the brethren there who had gone thither at first, whilst, on the contrary, a variety of people—some of them in affluent circumstances—had settled there from Holland, England, Switzerland, and other countries. The reigning Count of Büdingen, it is true, was well satisfied with this; but circumstances had already occurred, which caused Count Zinzendorf to anticipate the most unpleasant consequences, and these he endeavoured, if possible, to avert.

On the 1st of January, he preached in the church at Marienborn, and in the afternoon went to Herrnhaag, where he took up his temporary residence, and addressed the church from the words, "I dwell among my own people."

It has been already noticed, that the statutes in use at Herrnhut were not enforced amongst the brethren at Herrnhaag; and the Count did not find it advisable to insist upon them, considering the state of the settlement at that time. With reference to the two opposite parties at Herrnhaag, he adhered to his previous intention to look on awhile, and wait the time for applying a complete remedy for the evil.

The pilgrims who resided in the castle of Marienborn, as long as the Count dwelt there, removed also to him at Herrnhaag. Besides these, various other persons, engaged in the service of the Moravian church, visited him from time to time. In addition to the above, there were also the missionaries proceeding to or returning from their different stations, and a considerable number of brethren and sisters from Holland and England. The girls' school, on the contrary, was removed to Marienborn, and the theological seminary to Lindheim. This arrangement rendered the Count's labours more diversified, but could not well be avoided; for though Herrnhaag was tolerably extensive, yet there were not dwelling-houses sufficient. A couple of hours were devoted every day to conferences, and the whole of Wednesday; on which occasions every thing that had reference to the prosperity of the church was discussed. The brethren who returned from Greenland, St.

Thomas, &c. by the intelligence they brought, gave occasion to important deliberations. The first difficult commencements were called to mind, and how graciously the Lord had enabled them to overcome them. The existing state of things was then considered, and much cause was found for joy and gratitude. John Beck, who had arrived from Greenland, appeared at a love-feast, with his two sons, (both of whom became missionaries in the sequel,) in a Greenland dress, which afforded much pleasure to the rest of the brethren. Eighteen of the first-fruits of the brethren's labours in various parts could now be numbered, who had already joined the church above.

The Count divided his attention between Lindheim, Marienborn, and Herrnhaag, but devoted himself chiefly to the latter, where he usually spoke every day on the daily texts or watchwords. The sermons which he preached this year were published in two parts; but it is to be regretted, that he frequently made use of expressions, to suit the taste of his hearers, which gave his opponents occasion for ridicule, and which he often lamented in the sequel. The same remark applies to his sermons preached in 1748.

At the synod which was held at Herrnhaag, on the 12th of May till the 14th of June, Johannes Von Wattewille and Leonard Dober were ordained bishops of the Church of the Brethren, by which the place of bishop Müller, who had entered into his eternal rest, was doubly filled. The Count, on this occasion, stated, that it was evident from history, that the bishops, when forsaking christian simplicity, had caused much injury to the cause of Christ; but, that he trusted any thing of the kind would be prevented amongst the brethren, by the arrangements which had been made; for, by the appointment of the *Seniores civiles*, to whom that was committed which might prove dangerous in the hands of the bishops, and by the authority of such men, whom God himself furnished from time to time with gifts and grace, so that the chief concerns of the church were entrusted to them,—that was wisely averted, which might otherwise have given ground for apprehension.

A peculiar event occurred at this time, which must not be passed over. The Count's beloved brother-in-law, Count

Reuss, caused him great joy, by visiting him on the 11th of May. His consort, the Countess Theodora, came with him. The synod commenced, and Count Reuss had the pleasure of seeing a number of brethren, to whom he was cordially attached, assembled together, and of enjoying with them the presence of the Saviour, who so gladly meets his people. But on the 14th of May he was obliged to keep his bed, in consequence of the renewed attack of a disorder of the chest, and on the 21st, the Lord took him to himself. Johannes Von Wattewille informed the church of his dissolution, and mentioned the following remarkable circumstances. The late Count had felt abundantly comforted, rejoiced, and filled with love to Jesus Christ and his members, since Count Zinzendorf's last visit, when the church of Ebersdorf was again united to the brethren. He had felt symptoms of an approaching illness before he left home, but did not let it be perceived, lest his journey to Herrnhaag, from which he promised himself much edification, should be prevented. He had reflected much within himself, how he might renounce his government, and spend the rest of his days amongst the brethren and friends, to whom his heart adhered. But the Saviour had resolved upon some better thing for him, and instead of it, had taken him to his eternal rest. This unexpected intelligence deeply affected the brethren and sisters who were present.

During the Count's residence at Herrnhaag, many of the brethren who constituted the church of the pilgrims, set out for their various destinations. Amongst these, were Dr. Hocker and Surgeon Rüffer, who took their departure for Persia, to labour amongst the Guebres; and also John Beck, who returned to Greenland, after being ordained minister of the converted heathen in that country.

He was gratified by a visit on the 25th of March, from his dear friend, Baron Nicholas Von Wattewille, who arrived from Switzerland, and remained until the termination of the synod.

He had also the satisfaction this year of seeing his second daughter, Maria Agnes, for whom he had been hitherto much concerned, admitted to the enjoyment of the sacrament, and

also of pronouncing his benediction upon her, at her entrance upon office in the girls' choir.

In the year 1747, the Count continued to defend himself, in the periodical publications, against the accusations of his adversaries, under the title of "Natural Reflections," two of which had appeared in December of the previous year, which were followed by four of the same kind the year following. The fourth of these "Natural Reflections" bore the superscription, "Not that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy." He endeavoured to show in it, that it is neither useful nor needful for a minister of the gospel to use compulsatory measures. But in order fully to understand the object he had in view, it is necessary to call to mind the circumstances in which he was placed. He resided at that time in Herrnhaag, where, notwithstanding the blessing which rested on the church, many of its members fell into extravagances, unbecoming children of God. It was expected, by persons both in and out of the church, that these things would have been put a stop to, and removed by the discipline of the Moravian church.

But the Count had, at that time, his peculiar views of the subject, and was not much in favour of church-discipline. The strange use which had been made of it in ancient times made no good impression upon him. He believed, indeed, that a church which was strict in the observance of its discipline, might maintain a superior appearance in the sight of men, to one in which such strictness did not prevail; but whether it were on that account of more value in the sight of the Lord Jesus, who is satisfied with nothing which does not proceed from the heart—is another question. It might easily happen, that persons who belonged to a church, might be brought by its discipline into a very regular course; and yet, afterwards presume upon their own righteousness, and deprive themselves of the grace which the contrite sinner finds in the sufferings and death of Christ. The Saviour has taught, in few words, how a brother is to be treated, against whom there is any thing to object. First, he is to be admonished alone, then in the presence of another, and then, if neither avail, the church is to be informed of it; and if he will not

hear the church, he is to be regarded as a publican and a heathen.

O that this rule had only been simply followed at that time! but this was not the case; and yet it ought reasonably to have been so, to restrain disorders and things unseemly, as well as to avoid cause of offence.

The Count was at length compelled to use severity, as the result will show; and I certainly believe that, after such a trial, he would have found much in this number of his "Natural Reflections," to alter and revise.

In September, things were so arranged that he could again take a journey to Saxony and Upper Lusatia. It was now the tenth year of his banishment from that country. He had cherished the hope that his exile would terminate that year, and expressed it to several of his intimate friends; but there was still little appearance of it. The representations he had frequently made seemed so entirely fruitless, that he even thought it best to say no more upon the subject. The violent attacks which were publicly made upon him, through the medium of the press, and dispersed throughout Saxony, did not favour the idea that any kinder feelings prevailed at court respecting him; especially, as just at that time, the rescripts against him, issued in 1736, began also to be publicly circulated to his prejudice.

However, it happened, that in Dresden, other sentiments began to prevail respecting the Count, than had been previously the case. Several of his opponents, who were against his return to Saxony, had left this world, and others had laid aside their anger against him.

But when the manor of Great Hennersdorf, where he had spent the years of his childhood, was purchased for his daughter Benigna, the question was asked by many, "Why was Count Zinzendorf exiled from Saxony?" It had been seen how Herrnhut had, up to that period, manifested itself as a peaceful little town, to which every pious Christian wished success. And people began to think, "Would it not be well if there were many such places in Saxony? and might not Count Zinzendorf again have liberty to return thither?" In short, the affair was brought before the King, and a letter from

a person of rank informed the Count, that he had permission to return to his native land.

The Count commenced his journey to Upper Lusatia on the 10th September; the Countess, and others, had already preceded him thither. At Neudietendorf, he had an interview with Count Gotter, respecting that settlement; for even this little place was not without its trials; which arose, however, possibly, from misunderstanding. On the 13th he continued his journey, and on the 15th paid a visit, with his son and son-in-law, who had come to meet him, to Count Von Gersdorf, the lieutenant of the district, and their friendly interview with this nobleman lasted till late at night. He arrived in Bertholdsdorf on the same day and hour which had been so remarkable to him, six years before, when it had pleased the Saviour to make himself so sensibly felt as the supreme head of the church. Most of the brethren and sisters who had been present on that solemn occasion, now met together again, and celebrated it anew, with feelings of the most ardent and humble joy. In the afternoon the Count repaired to Great Hennersdorf, where he spent, in retirement, the remainder of this important day.

On the 17th, he addressed a suitable letter to the Elector of Saxony, then also king of Poland, under whose good government Herrnhut had enjoyed so many years of peace and repose. He then proceeded to visit the churches in Silesia; and, first of all, Gnadenberg,—where, in addressing the church, he wished, amongst other things, that all the churches in Silesia might present such an appearance, that their intimate fellowship with the Lord Jesus, and their certain hope of being together with him in eternity, might be seen in their eyes, and inferred from their whole deportment. In Gnadenfrey, where the Countess arrived at the same time, he devoted himself, for two days, entirely to the church. On the whole, this visit proved a source of blessing, consolation, and joy, to the churches of the brethren in Silesia.

On the 2d of October, he commenced his return from Silesia; arrived at Leipzig on the 8th, and had an interview with Count Hennike, one of the King's ministers, at which the latter informed him, that his Majesty had felt induced to grant him, by

a decree, a permanent residence in Saxony; and also mentioned, that he could assure the brethren, in the King's name, that if they made other settlements in his territories, all liberty would be granted them. The Count would, indeed, have preferred a previous examination, which he had entreated for twenty years. But as, in consequence of the restoration of confidence, it was no longer deemed so requisite, the Count, after mature deliberation, resolved to accept the decree; at the same time again entreating, that a strict and minute inquiry might be instituted into the whole of his conduct since the year 1736. He left Leipzig immediately after; and, in the course of a few hours, the Syndic, Köber, had the pleasure of receiving a decree, prepared the day before, and signed by the King in person, in which the Count was authorized permanently to remain in Saxony.

On the 14th of October, at four o'clock in the morning, the Count arrived at Herrnhut. In the afternoon, nearly two hundred persons were present at a love-feast, to whom he made known the circumstance; at the same time returning heartfelt thanks to the Saviour, who had extended his protection over Herrnhut till that period. He observed, as a pleasing circumstance, that as the first brethren went out to Greenland, just at the time of his first exile, to preach the gospel to the heathen there, there were now two converted Greenlanders in Herrnhut, present at the meeting. He reminded them, also, of the watchword for the day, "The Lord turned the captivity of Job, when he prayed for his friends."

From that time, the Count, in order to be more retired, resided, for the most part, at Great Hennersdorf; which place, being only a short league from Herrnhut, the brethren and sisters could the more easily visit him there. At a meeting held on the 21st of October, in his own apartment, he related, that in the same room, forty years before, he had experienced the first feelings of the efficacy of Christ's sufferings, and shed the first tears of heartfelt emotion over the bleeding Saviour and his atonement.

From the 28th to the 31st of October, he held conferences respecting the affairs connected with the deaconry of the brethren, and deliberated upon the propriety of having a sepa-

rate house for the entertainment of pilgrims and strangers. He reminded the brethren, on this occasion, of what the Lord had done for them during the last twenty-five years. When it sometimes seemed as if it were impossible to proceed further, he had sent aid; and they must not only confess, with the disciples of Jesus, that they had lacked nothing, but also thank him for having been enabled to render assistance to many others in their distress.

The Count was extremely attached to Bertholdsdorf, because the extensive awakening in Upper Lusatia had taken its commencement there, and so many mercies had been there conferred upon himself. Hence he endeavoured, during the short time he spent in those parts, to be useful to the inhabitants of Bertholdsdorf; and, for this purpose, held his Sunday love-feast there. On the 4th of November, the marriage of Count Henry XXVIII., of the younger line of Reuss, with the Countess Agnes Sophia Von Promnitz, was celebrated in Bertholdsdorf; and the Count gave a heartfelt address, on the occasion, to the noble pair, to whom he was much attached.

On the 13th of November, he partook of the holy sacrament with the congregation from Herrnhut, in the church at Bertholdsdorf. His confession, which, according to the custom there, he pronounced with the whole congregation, and in their name, kneeling, was accompanied with many tears from those present. The substance of it was, that he himself, with the rest of the brethren and sisters, had so much the more cause to appear with confusion of face, deep humiliation, and heartfelt penitence before the Saviour, because they had been favoured with such particular mercies,—and hence they heartily besought him graciously to lift up upon them the light of his reconciled countenance.

But although he was made thus useful to Great Hennersdorf and Bertholdsdorf, yet Herrnhut enjoyed the most of his company during this visit to Upper Lusatia. He preached very important sermons to the church in that place, on several occasions, and held the necessary conferences with the brethren and sisters.

On the 5th of November he delivered a homiletical address,

with great unction, to each of the choirs: and showed clearly what the Saviour's intentions were with respect to each. The next day, after a love-feast with the single brethren, occasioned by Johannes Von Wattewille's approaching departure, he conversed with all the members of it individually, and had previously participated in the joy of the widow's choir, at the arrival, and admission into it, of the Countess Theodora. At the request of the children, he held a love-feast with them on the 15th November, and related to them the grace which had been bestowed, twenty years before, on the first-fruits of the children's seminaries.

On the 26th November the Count commenced his return to Herrnhaag, after holding an important conference, respecting the affairs of the Silesian churches, with the brethren who laboured amongst them. On the 27th he visited Count Von Gersdorf, in Teichnitz, and his aunt Henrietta, in Bautzen. Early on the morning of the 28th, he arrived in Dresden. He had there an interview with Count Hennike, respecting the affairs then pending, and at nine o'clock proceeded on his journey. He did not suffer either the bad roads or the bad weather to detain him; and, after resting a day in Neudietendorf, he arrived safely in Herrnhaag on the 7th of December.

He there spent the remainder of the year, in the transaction of the manifold business which devolved upon him; which was, indeed, almost more, at that period, than any individual could accomplish. But it resulted from the various offices he had undertaken; the duties of which were of such a nature, that others, however willing to assist, could not have much alleviated them.

He closed the year with a general meeting of the church; preaching first at Marienborn, and then addressing the students at the seminary. In the customary vigils at Herrnhaag, he thanked the Lord, with filial affection, for the mercies enjoyed during the year, and devoted himself anew to his service with a cheerful spirit.

On his return to Herrnhaag, he found, to his sorrow, that the good understanding had not yet been restored between

the house of Büdingen and the church in Herrnhaag. He therefore wrote, at length, to the Count's eldest son; the result of which was, that in February, 1748, it was resolved to leave every thing in *statu quo* for the space of five years, and that a certain sum should be paid yearly to the house of Büdingen, from the revenues of Herrnhaag. On the 19th of February, the Count informed the church in that place, that the misunderstanding which had arisen during the previous year with their noble landlord, had been happily removed; by which no small burden had been taken from his shoulders.

He spent the first three months of the new year in Herrnhaag, and faithfully devoted himself to the ministry of the church there. In his discourses, he stated his expectation that circumstances would not continue as they were at that time, but that the Lord Jesus would grant his blessing to the labours of the brethren, and that they would enjoy more favour in every quarter, than the opposition they had then to encounter.

Before the close of the previous year, the Count had begun to hold lectures, at the theological seminary, on the Augsburg Confession, which were afterwards printed. However, he was, in the sequel, so little pleased with many things in them, that he entirely cancelled them.

He continued the publication of his "Natural Reflections," of which four additional numbers appeared in the course of that year (1748).

On the 11th of January, the Countess Benigna and her husband took their departure, by way of Holland and England, to North America. The Count accompanied them as far as Frankfort, where he spent a day with them, and then gave them his parting benediction.

The same month, one of the Greenlanders, who had come on a visit to the churches of the brethren, received the ordinance of baptism from Matthew Stach, the missionary; and two of them, Matthew and Judith, both unmarried persons, partook, on the 28th of January, of the holy sacrament, for the first time, with the church.

Cherishing the hope that there would be no longer a disinclination, in Dresden, to appoint a commission of inquiry, he resolved upon another journey to Saxony and Upper Lusatia.

He had also the intention of holding a synod, and of welcoming, on that occasion, the Rev. Mr. Cochius, who had been appointed honorary President of the Reformed section of the church. He therefore set out on the 4th of March; and after passing a day in retirement at Hünefeld, he arrived, on the 7th, at Neudietendorf, where he remained some days, to the great joy of the brethren who had settled there after the first had been called away. But finding that a variety of ideas still prevailed in Gotha, which, in his opinion, militated against the existence of a Moravian settlement, he advised them rather to quit the place.

On the 11th he proceeded to Ebersdorf, to speak with his cousin, Count Henry XXIV., who had succeeded to the government, upon a variety of subjects connected with the church in that place. In order to attend to his business the more closely, he removed, after some days, from the palace to the house appointed for the reception of strangers. There he examined and considered the inward and outward state of the church at Ebersdorf,—looked over the documents,—conversed with the officers of the church,—inquired into the states of its members,—and after having made every possible arrangement, he continued his journey, and arrived in Dresden on the 28th of March. He there visited some of the chief ministers of state, in order to induce them to appoint a commission of inquiry, which he had so long desired; and, though many objections were raised against it, yet he left Dresden with the hopes of attaining his object.

On the 5th of April he again arrived at Herrnhut, and took up his residence, for some days, in the house which he had occupied at the very commencement, to which he felt attached, because he had experienced in it so many mercies, and had participated so much in the sorrows and joys of the brethren.

He then informed the church of what he had accomplished in Dresden; and afterwards removed to Great Hennersdorf, that he might be the less disturbed in his labours, and his customary attendants accompanied him thither. From thence he ministered to the church in Herrnhut, and frequently visited it.

On the 19th of April he travelled to Gutta, where several of

the brethren came to confer with him, previous to their departure for Wetteravia and Holland. The Count afterwards proceeded, on the 25th, to Dresden. On the way he lost a little book, which contained many remarks he had made. Being very anxious about it, he entreated the Saviour, who sympathizes in the smallest afflictions of his people, that it might be restored to him; and the same evening he learnt that it had been found, and was in good hands.

In Dresden he preferred being *incognito*, rather than lose his time by unnecessary visits. After conversing with the chief of the clergy, as well as the King's ministers, his request was first of all taken into consideration by a commission, at which he and Baron Von Wattewille were present as deputies. At length he stated briefly, in a letter to his Majesty's ministers, what was desirable in order to a correct view of the subject in the proposed examination.

On his return from Dresden, he had a peculiar pleasure afforded him at Teichnitz, where he again visited Count Von Gersdorf. He was there welcomed by a number of converted Wends, who were in connexion with the brethren, and attended their meeting. This caused him the greater gratification, having, for several years past, taken great interest in the labours amongst that nation.

On the 17th of May he had the satisfaction of welcoming the Countess and his son at Herrnhut, who had safely arrived from Wetteravia.

His next object was the holding of a synod at Great Hennersdorf, at which he would have been glad to have seen some of the Saxon clergy; but having invited Cochius, chief chaplain to his Prussian Majesty, to be present at it as President of the Reformed section of the church, and the King having given him leave of absence for a month for that purpose, the Count resolved to hold the synod in Silesia.

Meanwhile, he thought it necessary to hold some preparatory conferences at Great Hennersdorf, which accordingly commenced on the 22d of May. Before these were ended, Brother Weiss arrived from Dresden, with the news that a decision had been come to, respecting a settlement at Barby; an agreement having been entered into with the electoral house

of Saxony, for the occupation of the castle by the brethren, on payment of a certain loan.

On the 13th of June, the Count travelled to Wehrau on the Queiss, where the Rev. Mr. Cochius arrived the following day; and proceeded on the 16th to Silesia, in order to become acquainted with the churches of the brethren there, before the commencement of the synod. The Count, who had meanwhile returned to Herrnhut, arrived on the 26th at Gnadenberg, where the other members of the synod had assembled. The synod was commenced the same day, in the manorial mansion at Gross Krauche, in the same room where the meetings had been held previous to the erection of a chapel.

It being the first time that Mr. Cochius had been present at a synod of the brethren, the Count, who presided, took great pains to lay before him every thing which might make him more acquainted with the affairs of the Moravian church, and especially the Reformed section of it.

The chief thing deliberated upon at this synod was a treatise laid before it by a deputation appointed for that purpose. It contained an explanation of all the points of doctrine comprised in the Augsburg Confession, in which it was endeavoured to express every thing with such perspicuity, that nothing might any longer remain dubious.

After the synod was ended, the Count returned to Great Hennersdorf, where he remained till the 19th of August, and from whence he daily visited Herrnhut.

The most important event at this period, was the royal commission of inquiry, so long desired, which commenced at Great Hennersdorf, at the close of July, and was continued during the first week in August.

The Count and the other eleven deputies of the church of the brethren, having been recognised as such at the opening of the Commission, it was premised, that Herrnhut being already regarded as a Lutheran church of the brethren, as the Count had already clearly explained, the investigation had only reference to that section of the union properly called the Moravian church, and not to the Lutheran or Reformed sections of it.

With respect to that which had reference to the Count in

person, he was anxious to give the Commissioners an opportunity of a thorough investigation. He therefore, at the very commencement, presented a manuscript of ninety-four pages in folio, in which he stated every thing in connexion. That which was said in it, was founded upon documents which constituted three volumes, and served as an appendix to it.

The manuscript itself was publicly read at the sitting of the Commissioners, by Count Von Gersdorf, and afterwards handed over to the privy-council in Dresden. The Count speaks in it,

1. Of the evangelical testimony borne by him and his assistants, as opportunity offered amongst all denominations of Christians.

2. Of the reasons which induced them to support, from year to year, a Lazaretto, so to speak, for all who were distressed in their minds.

3. Of the good reception they had met with from many, when seeking to gain them over to the Saviour, without infringing upon their religion.

4. Of the method employed to bring within proper limits, the numbers who were urgent to become members of the churches of the brethren.

5. Of the missions to the heathen, especially in places where there had previously been none.

6. Of the establishment of various colonies and settlements, and the wise and prudent regulations required.

7. Of the institutions for the education of children, both of missionaries and of other parents.

8. Of the theological seminary.

9. Of his official duties with reference to the churches of the brethren, which had been providentially placed under his care.

With regard to each of these points, he showed the primary objects he had in view. On coming to the last of them, he took occasion to state how they followed each other in succession, and thus he relates what induced him to devote his attention to the Moravian exiles and their spiritual affairs; the efforts he made to preserve them in connexion with the Lutheran church, without divesting them of their ecclesiastical

constitution and discipline; why, and how it happened, that episcopal ordination was used by the brethren connected with the Lutheran church; how, in his ministry amongst them, he had individually confined himself within the limits of a strict and faithful Lutheran divine, &c.

With regard to the part the Count personally acted at this Commission, it is to be observed, that though he made every arrangement that the Commissioners should be honourably received at Great Hennersdorf, he was not present when they arrived, and probably would not have appeared at all, but have merely handed in the documents through the medium of the prothonotary. But his presence being deemed necessary by the deputies of the brethren, as well as the Commissioners, he felt obliged to devote himself unreservedly to the business, from the first moment to the last.

He therefore not only drew up the answers to the questions laid before the deputies, but also appeared with Mr. Steinhofer, at a conference with the divines, who formed part of the commission, in which the objections that occurred were refuted to the satisfaction of the Commissioners.

He carefully procured and laid before them, both his own writings and those of his opponents.

He not only held his daily meetings in Hennersdorf according to his custom, at which some of the Commissioners occasionally attended, but also gave them an opportunity of visiting Herrnhut, inspecting every thing there, and of attending some of the meetings.

The King's birth-day happening to fall during the time the Commissioners were at Great Hennersdorf, the Count composed an ode upon the occasion, which was sung with musical accompaniments before the Commissioners; other solemnities also took place, by which the brethren testified their profound submission and loyalty to the King's person.

The Count felt sincerely grateful for the resolution of the Saxon Court, to have the cause of the brethren thoroughly investigated, and his particular esteem and devotedness to that illustrious house was thereby reanimated.

After the favourable termination of the Commission, the Count spent the remaining days of his residence at Great

Hennersdorf and Herrnhut in various useful employments, and after having received the sacrament, on the 13th of August, at Bertholdsdorf, with the brethren and sisters from Herrnhut, he commenced his return to Wetteravia, and arrived on the 25th at Ebersdorf. After conferring with the reigning Count upon the state of the church in that place, he proceeded, on the 29th, to Gotha, where he thankfully called to mind the synod held there in 1740, and heartily commended the whole country to the divine protection and blessing. The following day he reached Lindheim; and on the 31st of August, Marienborn and Herrnhaag.

During the Count's stay in Wetteravia on this occasion, which was not of long duration, the chief thing to be noticed is, the continuance of the synodal conferences, in the first of which, held on the 11th of September, he gave a circumstantial account of the occasions of the various conferences previously held that year, and on the 12th and 13th caused a statement of the transactions at Great Hennersdorf to be read to the conference.

On the 16th of September, a document was signed by the brethren, empowering the Count to take in hand and terminate the negociations pending in Holland, England, and other places, in the name and behalf of the brethren. On this he declared, that though he would not fail to act to the best of his ability, with regard to what still remained to be done for the cause of the brethren in Holland and England, as well as give his advice upon any subject on which he might be consulted; yet, from that time, he would make his pastoral duties, and the internal prosperity of the church, his chief concern. He had resolved upon this since the year 1741, but after his return from America, he could not refrain from interfering in the secular affairs of the church, in order to prevent injury to it. But now that the cause of the brethren had been investigated in Saxony, and the Lord had so far blessed his labours in that respect, he could not avoid urging an exemption from external affairs, especially since he firmly believed it would contribute more to the prosperity of the church, if he devoted himself solely to its spiritual affairs. This he proposed therefore faithfully to do, and the hearts of all

the members of the church would be the text he should study.

After taking an affectionate leave of the churches in Herrnhaag, Lindheim, and Marienborn, he set out for Holland, and arrived with his company in Zeist on the 23d of September.

He there began to devote himself more exclusively to the spiritual progress of the church, but did not neglect, at the same time, its secular affairs. Thus, for instance, when a conference was held in Amsterdam towards the end of October, on the subject of the deaconry of the brethren, he gave those who were appointed to that office a written document, which contained excellent instructions for the fulfilment of its duties, without, however, being personally present, or entering into any of the particular subjects which were discussed.

He held a synodal conference in the beginning of October, with the ministers that were present, from various churches and places, in which he discussed, at length, the state of the church and its different congregations.

At this synod, an act was passed respecting the honorary presidency of the Lutheran section of the church of the brethren, which an eminent Saxon divine, at the Count's wish, and the consent of the Elector, undertook.

On the 30th of the same month, the Countess and Baron Von Wattewille took leave of the Count, and proceeded by way of Barby to Herrnhaag.

With his son, whom he also sent back, he previously spoke at considerable length, respecting the progress of the single brethren in divine things. Although he had no clear perception of the sifting which subsequently took place, yet he observed traces of it, and sought either to remove the evil, or at least stop its further progress. Perhaps he would have done better to have kept his son with him. The instructions he gave him proved of little avail; for the confusion had already commenced, not only amongst the single brethren, but also amongst the other choirs.

Brother John Nitschman was on the point of proceeding to North America, by way of England, with a considerable number of brethren and sisters, at a time of the year seldom chosen for such voyages. It was the middle of December, when he

with his company went on board a vessel built in New York, and fitted up for the service of the brethren on their voyages. It was called the *Irene*, was an incomparable sailer, and was commanded by Captain Garrison. Several brethren and sisters, desirous of proceeding to England, also shipped themselves on board of her, and the Greenlanders, who had come to visit the brethren in Germany, availed themselves of the opportunity of returning in this vessel, by way of New York to their own country. When the *Irene* was about to set sail with her passengers, who amounted to about one hundred and fifty, the Count resolved to accompany them to England; and for this purpose, left Amsterdam for the Helder. But there was no possibility of reaching the vessel, because in consequence of the heavy gales, no boat would venture out to sea. This plunged him into profound grief, on account of the vessel which had so many persons on board, because he began to think some mistake had been made in the arrangements for that purpose. But on pouring out his heart before the Saviour, and commending the matter to him, he was comforted, and felt assured that all would go well.

Being thus prevented from going by the *Irene*, he returned, and proceeded to Helvoetsluys, where he arrived on the 30th. On the 31st he went on board the packet-boat, but met with contrary and heavy gales of wind. Although he was very ill in the night, yet he held a singing meeting with his company, commended all the churches, choirs, and individuals, both by sea and land, amongst heathens and Christians, and the whole cause of God, in heartfelt prayer to the Saviour, and at the same time thanked him for all the benefits received from him during the past year.

Scarcely had the Count arrived at Harwich on New Year's day (1749), when the post-master, with whom he took up his residence, brought him a large packet of letters, which were waiting for him. The information they communicated, both from North America and Germany, was of such a nature as to have caused him no little trouble, had he not been cheered by the remarkable and consolatory watchwords for the first days

in the year. He therefore applied to Him, who is alone able to help, and cast all his care upon him.

The next day he proceeded to Colchester, and the day following to Ingatestone, and finding the place suitable for employing himself without disturbance, he spent the evening and the night there, occupied with his papers. The next day he came to Mile End, where the brethren had at that time a child's seminary. Afterwards, on riding to London, a highwayman came to the carriage with a pistol in his hand and demanded the money and watches of the brethren that were with him, on receiving which, he left them. On arriving in London, he occupied Northampton House in Bloomsbury Square, which had been taken for him for three years.

Amongst the unpleasant intelligence the Count received at Harwich, was that of an edict having been published in Hanover against the brethren. Those of them who accompained him to London, were spoken to on the subject by almost every one; for it had been mentioned both in the French and English newspapers. Several English gentlemen, with whom the Count had been for some time acquainted, could not conceal their astonishment at it, especially as they heard there were no brethren in Hanover, and that besides this, no pains had been taken to inquire into the doctrine and ecclesiastical constitution of the brethren. It was also incomprehensible for another reason, which was, that they had been so honourably mentioned in an act of the British parliament, in the year 1747.

The Count, though much inclined to be silent on such occasions, and commend the matter to God, thought, that in the present instance, duty required him to interfere. He saw the injury which the brethren might receive from it, not only in Germany, but also in the English colonies. Nor had he forgotten the sufferings caused the missionaries to the Indians by the act passed at New York in 1744, and what hinderances it had placed in their way. He therefore addressed a letter to the king of England, with reference to the edict abovementioned, in a manner becoming a servant of Jesus Christ; his friends, however, were of opinion, that it would be better to bring the matter before parliament, that the cause of the brethren might be investigated, of which more in the sequel.

Meanwhile, the brethren and sisters, whom he had left in Holland, on board the Irene, arrived safe and well in London, and thus the church in his house was formed anew. They regularly attended the meetings of the brethren; but besides the latter, daily meetings were held at the Count's residence, to which the brethren and sisters, who belonged to the church in London, and ministered to its choirs, had access as often as they wished. He himself laboured in the service of that congregation with much fidelity, gave his advice on every doubtful matter, and considered, as the case demanded, in conference with its office-bearers, how injury might be prevented and good be done. He also frequently preached in German, at the chapel of the brethren, on which occasions brother John Gambold, as soon as the sermon was over, punctually repeated it in English, for the benefit of those Englishmen who did not understand German.

But in order that his residence in England might be rendered useful to the brethren there, he convened the ministers of the various congregations and their choirs, and whoever else of the brethren was in England in the service of the Saviour, to a provincial synod, which commenced on the 16th of January, and lasted till the 20th. In the two first sessions, he spoke with them on the fundamental principles, which ought to be maintained, especially at that time, in order to act in accordance with the peaceful injunctions of the Lord Jesus Christ. In the following sessions, that which was incumbent upon the brethren, with reference to England, was discussed.

The company of brethren and sisters destined for North America and Greenland, having also arrived in London by the Irene, the Count was anxious, not only to make their residence in England, where they were entire strangers, pleasing and profitable, but also to converse with them individually on the objects of their mission. For this purpose, he had several interviews with them, and listened to what each had to say of himself and his circumstances. After having made himself well acquainted with every thing, he held a conference with the heads of the mission to Pennsylvania, and after partaking of the sacrament together, they went on board the vessel. Here they were again visited by the Count on the 21st of

February, who followed them to Gravesend with John Nitschman, the leader of the whole company, and there took a cordial leave of them.

Before their departure, Providence so ordered it, that a letter came under the Count's observation, from whence he clearly perceived many proofs of the thoughtless enthusiasm which had gradually infected the deceivers and the deceived in the church. He immediately sat down, without speaking to any one on the subject, and prepared a letter to all the churches of the brethren; in which he alluded to every thing that he knew or apprehended, in a pointed manner, and expressed himself in such a way, that it was hoped the due effect would be produced. Although he mentioned no one, yet he attacked the thing itself without sparing any one; and because many of the brethren and sisters, who ought to have served as an example to others, were chiefly to blame for things which were unbecoming a church of Christ, his letter was particularly directed against them. He says at the conclusion, "He that is on the Lord's side, let him join me; and he that is disobedient shall bear his own judgment, whoever he be."

After finishing this letter, he caused so many copies to be made of it, that on the 10th of February, he was able to dispatch them to all the churches. He wrote at the same time to his son, who had also become connected with these people—doubtless from a good intention, but also through the deceitfulness of sin—and clearly placed before him the evil into which he had fallen. At the same time, he removed him from the office he had hitherto held, and summoned him and his immediate friends to London.

The Lord blessed these efforts of the Count, so that the faithful, who sighed over the extravagancies committed, began to breathe more freely; whilst those who had grieved the church, were gradually brought to reflection.

He did not, however, let the matter rest with a general warning and menace; but reflected how the evil might be removed, wherever it had found an entrance. He premised that it was necessary to commence the work in the character of a physician, in order that the souls of those who had been infected by the evil, and become a disgrace to the Saviour and

their brethren might be saved. To attain this object, he made the needful distinction with regard to those who had fallen into the temptation. He had great compassion upon all those who had been heedlessly drawn into it, and even expected to derive benefit from it. To others he expressed his serious dissatisfaction and displeasure at their conduct, and for a long time, did not suffer them to come near him. He took great pains with others of the assistants, to restore them to the path of simplicity; and on their acknowledging and confessing their sin, he not only heartily forgave them, but restored them to their offices, and commissioned them to reform the disorders which had taken place amongst their own people, and to minister to the amendment of those whom they had previously encouraged in their vagaries. He investigated the sources of the fanaticism which had spread itself amongst them, in order entirely to eradicate them; and believing that they originated in the wish of some, to find something superior to, and more excellent than the doctrine of the cross, he renewed his determination and his practice to preach nothing but Christ and him crucified.

He did not, however, ascertain that year all the particulars of the disorders which had been introduced. There was no want of those who were both willing and able to have informed him most minutely of every thing; but he refused to hear any thing further of it; and if any one began to speak of it, he grew angry, which terminated the conversation.

Some of his fellow-labourers could not understand this conduct, because they imagined that the duties incumbent upon his office required that he should be in possession of all the particulars of the affair. I myself was much displeased with him at that time, and he no less so with me, because he knew my sentiments; and this went so far, on both sides, that it could not remain concealed from the church, although we both loved each other cordially.

Afterwards, it seemed probable to me, that he acted thus from a fear of himself: for if he had been informed of every thing at the time, he might have been too highly incensed against certain persons, to whom he was, notwithstanding, much attached. He would infallibly have withdrawn the confidence he

reposed in them, and have given them up entirely, and perhaps even have lost courage himself. It is also possible, that considering the important affairs he had at that time in hand, he was unwilling to enter into such extremely disagreeable things, which would have too much excited him, and rendered him unfit for the transaction of the business with which he was occupied. For he was, at that time, endeavouring to procure an investigation into the Moravian cause, which had hitherto experienced so much opposition in the British parliament; particularly as he believed that the English nation, which had been for a long period acquainted with the Moravian church, had an especial right to institute such an inquiry.

It being resolved to petition parliament on the subject, the question was, who should appear on behalf of the brethren? The Count, who had firmly determined to preserve his incognito in London, was placed in a perplexing situation. His friends, whose advice was asked, insisted upon it, that there was no other suitable way, than his appearing in the character of "*Advocatus fratrum.*" However gladly he would have avoided this, and given it into other hands, yet, under the circumstances at the time, he could not refuse to act. Meanwhile, he made every arrangement to prevent his personal appearance from being requisite, and yet attended with great fidelity and indefatigable assiduity to every thing that might contribute towards the attainment of the object.

The first thing was, to make himself acquainted with all that was necessary in the matter. General Oglethorpe, of whom we have previously spoken, was often with him; and this gentleman, who had sat in parliament for many years, was able to give him the best information. After the petition had been duly prepared and signed, it was presented to the House of Commons, which appointed a committee of forty of its members to examine every thing most minutely, and make their report. The Count furnished all the documents for the establishment of every point, and had them carefully translated into English.

The result of this investigation was, that almost all the members of parliament, both in the upper and lower house, who had previously entertained the strangest ideas of the

brethren, were convinced of their error in a manner almost unparalleled; and after the affair had been discussed eighteen several times in the committees, and by the whole house, the Act in favour of the Moravian church passed the House of Lords on the 12th of May—a day already memorable in the annals of the brethren—after having been agreed to in the lower house; and, on the 6th of June, received the royal assent.

The following were the chief points gained by the brethren by means of this Act:—

1. The *Unitas Fratrum* were acknowledged as an ancient Protestant episcopal church.

2. Those of its members, who scrupled to take an oath, were exempted from it on making a declaration in the presence of Almighty God, as witness of the truth.

3. They were exempted from acting as jurymen.

4. They were entirely exempted from military service in the American colonies, under reasonable conditions.

It was, at the same time, a matter of no small importance to the Count, that the ancient acquaintance of the English church, and of the whole English nation, with the Moravian church, should thus be renewed, and that persons of the first distinction—even the Prince of Wales himself—should have been so active, and manifested such a friendly disposition in the matter. But although the Count regarded all this as of so much consequence, yet he constantly urged upon the brethren not to place their dependence upon favourable circumstances, but to cleave, as before, with filial and humble confidence to the Saviour alone, as their sole helper and protector in every emergency.

After the parliamentary proceedings were terminated, the Count had several conferences with Dr. Sherlock, bishop of London, on the doctrine of the Moravian church. The bishop of Lincoln, who was acquainted with the German language, was also present.

The Count seeing that these prelates, as well as others of the Church of England, would be glad of a more particular account of the doctrine, constitution, and practice of the Moravian church, wrote a copious treatise upon the subject in English,

under the title of "*Unitatis Fratrum Fidei, Liturgiæ et Prædeos Expositio*," &c.

About this time also, the Twelfth Number of his "Natural Reflections" appeared, which concluded the series. The Watchwords, or Daily Texts, for the year 1750, were likewise published, under the title of "*Sabbathum Ecclesiæ Fratrum.*"

Events, which were partly pleasing and partly painful to the Count, rapidly accumulated during this period. The accusations which had been circulated against him in Germany, made their way to England, and appeared in that language;—but who does not know how much is published there continually, against the king, his ministers, the parliament, and the church? hence it produced no particular effect for a time. The news of the success of the missionaries amongst the savages in Berbice, the letters from North America, stating the safe arrival of the Irene on the 12th of May, and other favourable events, caused him joy and thankfulness. But still, nothing could tranquillize his heart in all the adverse circumstances from without, and the deficiencies within, so much as the loving-kindness of his Saviour. This was his daily consolation, and he so arranged his labours, as to be able to spend the whole Sunday in intercourse with him; and unless he preached in public, or addressed the church in his own house, he seldom let himself be seen or spoken to on that day.

When his son arrived in London, on the 23d of May, he received him as a father who was supremely attached to the Saviour: for, since the former had suffered himself to be led into a variety of extravagancies, he was unwilling to act like an Eli towards him. He did not, however, omit, after having stated his sentiments on every point of his conduct, with which he was dissatisfied, to manifest a father's faithfulness towards him. He kept him always about him, and afforded him an opportunity of participating in all the business of the church.

After every thing had been transacted with the parliament and the bishops, and the affairs above mentioned were so far in progress, the Count devoted himself, for some weeks, more particularly to the church itself, and held several conferences with its teachers.

On the 22d of June, after taking leave of the friends and brethren in London, he travelled to Yorkshire. He sent the greatest part of his company direct to Gracehall, whilst he himself went first, by way of York, to Aberford, where he visited the Rev. Benjamin Ingham, and spent a few days with him. On the 30th he arrived at Gracehall, and edified the church there, the same day, with an address. He continued there till the 28th of July, but received only a few of the strangers who came, and visited them in return. He had, however, much friendly intercourse with Mr. Ingham, who, being the proprietor of Gracehall, gave the ground for a house both for the single brethren and the unmarried sisters; the first stone for which was laid on the 26th of July, before the Count's departure, with prayer and supplications. Some families belonging to the Moravian church, also settled there; and thus arose the Moravian settlement, afterwards called Fulneck, in memory of a place formerly occupied by the brethren in Moravia. But in order that the Count's residence there might be profitable to the church, he not only held frequent conferences with the choir-leaders and other assistants, but also many meetings of the church and the different choirs. On these occasions, one of the brethren, at first, always sat near him, who repeated in English what he spoke in German; but at length he preached himself in the English language, to the great joy of his hearers. Besides this, he undertook to converse with every individual singly. He also made a commencement with the children from all the places where the brethren were scattered. Their number amounted to six hundred: he began with the boys, and afterwards spoke with the girls, each of them singly. In the afternoon they all held a love-feast together.

At the close of his agreeable residence at Fulneck, the Count gave a very impressive address on the watchword for the day, "Bless the Lord, all his works, in all places of his dominion." He then pronounced his benediction upon the congregation, took an affectionate leave of them, and commenced his return to London.

On the 30th of July, on reaching Buckden, where the bishop of Lincoln has his country-seat, the latter was about to visit

him; but he prevented him, by waiting himself upon the bishop, and had a long and pleasing interview with him. They went through the Litany of the Moravian church, which had been translated into English, and annexed to the address to the English church formerly mentioned; and the bishop, being acquainted with the German language, made some remarks upon the translation, which were very acceptable to the Count. The day following he arrived with his company in London, and was received with many expressions of joy.

He spent the next four weeks in London, during which he had the pleasure of receiving a visit from an eminent divine of the Church of England, who assured him that he confidently hoped the acknowledgment of the brethren in England, and their fearless confession of Christ crucified, would be productive of great good,—that one of the principal bishops of the Church of England had been much gratified and edified, not only by the Augsburg confession and the acts, of the synod of Bern, which had almost been forgotten in England, and were now restored to honour by the brethren, but also because the brethren so boldly professed their adherence to them, and were determined to know nothing but salvation by Christ alone.

The Count was likewise excited to praise God, by the intelligence of the visitation of his son-in-law in the islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan, which had been so singularly blest. The missionaries there had been greatly strengthened and refreshed in spirit; and the number of negroes to whom the brethren preached the gospel, had augmented to eight hundred.

At the end of August, the Count made an excursion to Wiltshire, visited the brethren at Tytherton, and then proceeded to Bedford, on the same errand. On his return to London, he had the pleasure of welcoming brother Leonard Dober, who had arrived from Livonia.

During the month of September, the Count received the following important advices: first, that, by an electoral decree, the privileges and immunities which the brethren enjoyed in Upper Lusatia and Barby, were extended to the whole of the electorate of Saxony. Next that Captain

Garrison, with the brethren and sisters destined for Greenland, had safely arrived there, in three weeks and four days, from New York, after visiting the settlement at Bethlehem, where they had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with the converted Indians, as well as with others from Berbice, in South America. And lastly,—that the Rev. Mr. Cochius, honorary president of the Reformed section of the church, had departed this life at Berlin, on the 23d of September.

But the chief event, which occurred during this period, was a synod, which was opened on the 11th, and continued till the 30th of September. In this synod, the Count stated it to be his opinion, that the brethren were now placed in that position, in which they ought to call to mind the injunction of the Lord, not to resist injustice: for the more they sought to defend themselves, the more their antagonists studied to have something to say against them, and sought for new subjects of accusation; and thus the evil was only increased. The result would always be this, that the Lord's people would continue to be the butt of their enemies, according to his own words: "In the world ye shall have tribulation;" and true Christians could never avoid this.

As for himself, he had never, from his youth up, been able to believe in more than one religion, and that was the religion of the heart. Hence, when he had to speak with people belonging to different sections of the christian church, it did not first occur to him to attack the erroneous opinions they held; but his chief concern was, to win them for the Saviour. He was cautious in speaking with Jews and Deists, because he knew beforehand, that their hearts were disinclined towards Him whom his soul loved: but with regard to others, he had made no distinction in that respect; and although he had been blamed for so doing, yet it was not in his power to alter his mode of acting.

At this synod, the aged and venerable Dr. Thomas Wilson, bishop of Sodor and Man, was unanimously chosen Honorary President of the Reformed section of the church, in the place of the Rev. Mr. Cochius.

Meanwhile, David Nitschman returned from his visitation to the German churches, to which he had been sent by the

Count in June, after assisting them with his advice, to the best of his ability: and on the 10th October, John Leonard Dober was dispatched to Germany, on a similar mission.

The Count withdrew himself from all visits of ceremony and the etiquette of rank, in order that he might pursue the objects of his vocation with the less interruption. For the sake of his health, and when circumstances permitted, he daily took a little exercise in the open air. He went also, occasionally, to Mile End, where the seminaries for the children were, or to some other place, when he wished to be alone. He often devoted his walks solely to the purpose of holding converse with his Saviour, and then returned home, strengthened in mind but fatigued in body, and recommenced his labours.

In November, I arrived, in company with Bishop John Von Wattewille, from North America, and remained some months in London with the Count. Not having been in Europe since the year 1744, I remarked many changes which had taken place since that period.

The Count was much alone, and the conferences with his fellow-labourers were less frequent: the reason of this was, because he feared that the brethren would begin to speak of things which were painful for him to hear, and which, because he could not alter them, he did not wish to know.

But there were two things which, though the Count's intentions were good, proved injurious in their consequences.

The Count was desirous of providing liberally for the church in his house and his occasional visitors; he also took a pleasure in affording them gratification. But this was gradually carried further than it ought, or than he had himself intended. So much was evident, that the present mode of life in his house was very different to what it had been previously.

The Count was also anxious that no such difference in dress should be made by the members of his household, as is customary in the world between persons of rank and their inferiors; and he so far attained his object, that little distinction could be observed amongst them, especially the sisters, when assembled together at a meeting, or at the holy sacrament. But, on the other hand, those of inferior rank, who constituted the majority, exalted themselves too much; and it

is greatly to be lamented, that they did not continue in the sphere consistent with their birth and station.

The above-mentioned address to the Church of England, induced the bishop of London to pay a friendly visit to the Count on the 17th of December, at which Nicholas and John Von Wattewille were present. The following particulars from the conversation of that venerable prelate with the Count, deserve to be noticed. He declared that the Church of England made redemption by the death and sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ, a chief point, no less than the church of the United Brethren: that if the question were asked, wherein the christian religion differed from other religions, the sacrifice of Jesus Christ for us, and the atonement made for sin by his blood, were the first things that ought to be mentioned; that he regarded it as an injury to the church, that many preachers occupied themselves so much with enforcing the practice of morality and a virtuous walk, as to make them almost, if not entirely, overlook the doctrine of the atonement; that the reason why the primitive fathers of the first and second centuries say so little on this important subject in their writings, probably was, because, at that time, they possessed little more than the writings of the Old Testament; for the Epistles of St. Paul had not then become so universal, nor was it at that time so fully understood that they were to be received as canonical; that when speaking of the participation of Christ, it was only reasonable to adhere to the expressions of Scripture; for if endeavours were made to express it more definitely, it was just as easy to mistake, as in the attempt to spiritualize every biblical expression.

With regard to the constitution of the church, he did not deny, that both the Anglican, Gallican, and other prelates were much entangled; and esteemed the bishops of the Moravian church happy, because nothing else was expected of them, than what the Saviour had enjoined upon his servants.

I must also observe, that the bishop of Sodor and Man, in reply to the proposition made him to become Honorary President of the Reformed section of the Moravian church, informed the Count, on the 19th of December, that, although in a state of much debility, he would gladly accept the office,

because he was desirous of doing every thing for the brethren which lay in his power.

When I reflect upon all that the Count accomplished this year, I must confess that it could scarcely have been expected, considering the perilous circumstances in which the brethren appeared to be placed. The Count, during the watchnight on the 31st of December, stated, that the good hand of the Lord had that year rendered every thing easy to him; that it was true he had laboured and accomplished much; but that it had been done very quietly, and as the affairs had daily presented themselves. Thus he closed this year likewise with thanksgiving and praise, and recommended himself and the whole church to the Lord's blessing for the future.

The Count entered upon the fiftieth year of the century, which was at the same time the fiftieth year of his age, with the hope of more tranquil times.

History teaches us, that every new awakening and divine visitation amongst Christians, however much contradiction, and however many assaults it may have to endure at its commencement, pursues its course, and survives every attempt to quench it. The opposition made to it affords a faithful servant of Christ opportunity for reflecting, whether he may not have been deficient in prudence, either in his speech or his deportment, and thus the mistakes are gradually perceived and rectified. On the other hand, those who have been too violent in their opposition, and have not kept themselves within due bounds, become also occasionally more careful, and begin to be a little ashamed of themselves: this therefore produces, in certain respects, more peaceful times.

For these reasons, the same thing, under somewhat similar circumstances, might be expected in the case of the brethren: but the Count possessed a still surer ground of hope. The Saviour, at his earnest intercession, had imparted to him the consoling assurance, that, in due time, the storm would subside. More peaceful seasons actually commenced, although, during the year 1750, much that was painful occurred.

The position of the settlement at Herrnhaag, in particular,

caused him much anxiety, in consequence of the misunderstanding which prevailed between it and the government of Büdingen, which had become more serious, after the accession of Count Gustavus Frederick to the government. The Moravian settlers were required to do homage to the reigning Count, and to renounce by oath their teachers and superiors, especially Count Zinzendorf.

As soon as the latter received intimation of this, he foresaw that as these requirements were such as persons of integrity could not obey, the Moravians would be expelled from Herrnhaag, and only wished that even the appearance of persecution might be avoided in the case. Hence he offered gradually to remove the present inhabitants of Herrnhaag to other places, during the three years which still remained of the contract, and to resign the buildings at Herrnhaag to the reigning Count at a moderate price. These proposals were sent to Wetteravia in the beginning of January, to be presented to the reigning Count; but the violent proceedings previously commenced, rendered them unavailing: for the order had been actually published, that the brethren should either renounce their connexion with the Count, or quit the place within three years. In their reply, the church at Herrnhaag declare,—

1. That they were willing, by cordial obedience to the civil powers, to prove themselves faithful and obedient subjects.

2. That they could not however conscientiously renounce Count Zinzendorf and their teachers, because they were directed in the Scriptures to obey their teachers.

3. That they regarded Count Zinzendorf as a true and faithful servant of Jesus Christ, and that if they renounced him, those words would be applicable to them: "Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I also deny before my heavenly Father;" and that even if Count Zinzendorf were desirous of withdrawing himself from them, yet they could not agree to it as far as respected their ecclesiastical and financial state.

4. That the official duties of Count Zinzendorf and the other office-bearers in the church, had no reference to civil authority.

Previous to the publication of the above-mentioned mandate

of the government of Büdingen, the Count experienced great solicitude with reference to the church there, and spent many hours in praying, weeping, and meditation. But, on receiving intelligence of its having been issued, he regained his cheerfulness and his courage; for he felt assured, that the Lord's intentions were favourable with reference to the church in that place. He was well aware of the temporal loss and injury which would be sustained by a removal; but, as regarded the spiritual prosperity of the church, he was inwardly persuaded it would suffer no danger nor detriment.

Many intelligent and learned men urged the brethren to bring their complaint before a higher tribunal; but the Count was of opinion, that, for the present, it was best that the settlement at Herrnhaag should suffer in silence.

Meanwhile, the Count wrote to Büdingen, stating that he should be glad if he were permitted to arrange the emigration from Herrnhaag, in a quiet and peaceful manner, and so as not to excite a sensation; for, after all, the expense would, in some measure, fall upon him; that he was ready and willing, if the government of Büdingen should desire it, to send other people to Herrnhaag, under such conditions as should be satisfactory to the government; and that he would not have failed to send them a solemn renunciation of his connexion with the settlement at Herrnhaag, if the edict which had been published against it had been first communicated to him.

The Count and his son were both in London when this storm broke out over Herrnhaag; but the Countess was there at the time, and was obliged to endure many things which she had not anticipated. John Von Wattewille, his son-in-law, arrived there just at the time when the ferment was at its height, after finishing his visitation in North America and the West Indies. His stay there was both a blessing to himself and the church: for, as he participated in the contempt and the afflictions endured by the community, and instructed them how they ought to act, under the circumstances, according to the mind of Christ, he likewise participated in the Divine grace which prevailed in the settlement, and felt edified at the truly christian feeling which the brethren manifested under this oppression.

The Count, after reflecting upon the causes and consequences of this edict, wrote to the afflicted people, and faithfully reminded them of their mistakes and faults: but this was done with so much affection, that no one could be grieved at it. At the same time he assured them, that he felt it his duty to be of service to them, according to his ability, when they should be compelled to emigrate.

After the whole of the Moravian settlers at Herrnhaag had repeatedly declared, as one man, that they could not, and would not, renounce their teachers, who had manifested such faithfulness towards them, and the government at Büdingen insisted, that if they would not do this they should leave the place,—they resolved to emigrate, which was accordingly done in small companies. The first of their number who left Herrnhaag, directed their course to America, by way of Holland and England, where the Count had an opportunity of speaking with them and their teachers, and of giving them his heartfelt benediction.

From this time he began to reflect how he might elsewhere provide for the seminaries for youth in Wetteravia, as well as the emigrants from Herrnhaag.

The Count continued to reside in England till the month of July. He spent the greatest part of the time in London, but went occasionally to Ingatestone, which had been rented for his use, when he wished to be alone.

His pamphlet, entitled, "Exposition of the Faith and Practice of the Moravian Church," occasioned him to continue his friendly intercourse with some of the bishops of the English church, especially with those of London, Lincoln, and Worcester, in which they freely expressed their sentiments on both sides.

It was at this time that Lindsey House, situate near the Thames at Chelsea, which had been previously the residence of the duke of Ancaster, was purchased, together with the place adjoining, called Beaufort, on a lease of ninety-nine years.

The various propositions made to the brethren for new establishments, not only occasioned the Count interviews with Lords Chesterfield, Granville, and others, but also the mission

of some of the brethren to Wales, to inspect the situation of places there, but without determining any thing.

The Count also now sought to remove the ecclesiastical disorders, which he had so seriously reproved, by sending Bishop John Von Wattewille on a visitation to all the churches; and this proved instrumental, under the Divine blessing, of gradually reclaiming all those that had gone astray.

Although the Count would gladly have withdrawn himself from the secular affairs of the church, in consequence of feeling convinced that his calling was to preach the gospel and devote himself to the spiritual wants of the people, yet he did not feel at liberty to do so under the circumstances in which the church was at that time placed.

We have seen how well he succeeded in the offices of syndic and advocate to the Moravian church; but whether he was the most suitable person to be placed at the head of the management of its pecuniary concerns, is a question which it is difficult to answer.

It is evident enough, that he was defective in a clear and thorough insight into the circumstances of human life. He had no right conceptions how people begin, who wish to earn something,—how mercantile affairs are managed, the prices of things that are requisite, and the like; nor had he the gift of making a previous calculation, and so arranging every thing, that the expenditure should not exceed the income. Having often made the trial, and never found that he had hit the mark, he thought at length that it would be better not to attempt it. Besides this, he was not favourable to the ordinary methods of procuring aid by collections, &c. His idea was, that people ought to economize; and with respect to himself, he really lived sparingly. But as it cannot be denied, that it is a peculiar art and talent to be economical, and yet be in want of nothing that is requisite, it was evident that with all his wish to be so, he did not possess this gift. The Countess possessed it; but when the Moravians extended themselves so much, she was often required to be in one place whilst the Count was residing at another. Thus she was in Germany at the time when he was in England. From these premises the inference might be drawn, that he was not a suitable

person for the direction of the pecuniary affairs of the church. On the other hand, it must be considered, that he was very faithful in the cause of the Saviour whom he served. He was always the first to venture his own and his family's property, when any thing required to be done for the Saviour's cause. His first concern was to ascertain what was acceptable in the sight of God; and having done this, he thought the Lord would help, in one way or other. He then encouraged the brethren; and did not wait until he clearly saw his way, or had the means in hand, but commenced the work. And I must confess, that in this way much was accomplished for the cause of God amongst Christians and heathens, which would, perhaps, not have been brought about with a greater degree of scrupulosity and less confidence. I am therefore of opinion, that notwithstanding his deficiencies above noticed, he was still the proper person, at the time, to preside over the deacons of the church and their measures.

But the pecuniary affairs of the brethren in Wetteravia, Holland, and England, had now become so complicated, that the Count was no longer able to take a minute survey of them. To this was added the breaking up of the settlement at Herrnhaag; where, besides the loss in houses and furniture, which the people could not take with them, and were compelled to sell at a low price, an immense expense was incurred. For it was no small matter to provide the travelling expenses for upwards of a thousand individuals, to place them in other settlements, and assist them again in procuring a livelihood; not to mention the extensive seminaries for the young, which were obliged to be removed from Wetteravia to Upper Lusatia.

Before leaving England, he thought it requisite to hold another provincial synod, which was accordingly opened on the 12th of June, in the Moravian chapel in London.

At the commencement, the Count spoke at large upon the tender, sympathizing, and kind affection which he should be glad to see prevail in a greater degree amongst the brethren.

Afterwards, when opponents were referred to, the Count expressed it as his opinion, that he alone had any personal adversaries, and that hence it would be best for the church if

he detached himself from all outward affairs, according to the wish he had already expressed, and live more retired. He also believed, that if the ministers of the church would be of good cheer, and boldly undertake the matter, the Saviour would be with them, with his favour, so that no injury would be sustained, and the brethren, by his retirement, would rather gain than lose. However, he was afterwards convinced, that the time for this retirement was not yet come.

The Count was prevented for some days, by indisposition, from attending the public session of the synod; but this did not hinder him from taking part in its deliberations. He was also so far recovered before its close, as to be able to deliver a parting address on the 29th of June.

I have still to notice one of the principal things which came before this synod, and that was, my "Declaration respecting the Accusations hitherto made against the Brethren, and especially against its Ordinary."*

On my return from America in 1749, I was commissioned to draw up and publish a reply to the various polemical writings against us; but for many reasons I could not at that time resolve upon it. During my residence with the church at Zeist, the year following, many of these pieces fell into my hands, as well as various replies, either from some of the brethren or their friends; in which, however, I found so much that was objectionable, that I thought it necessary, for the truth's sake, to write something. But perceiving that this could not possibly be done in the usual manner, without entering into much prolixity, I regarded it as the most advisable to explain myself briefly and pointedly upon the chief topic of controversy, as in the presence of God and in the name of myself and the brethren. After drawing up this Declaration, I visited the various churches in Germany, and had the opportunity of laying it before many of the brethren and ministers of the Unity, and of conversing with them upon it. I then returned to England with Bishop John Von Wattewille, and attended the synod in London.

I could have printed this Declaration in my own name, and

* One of the offices held by Count Zinzendorf.

should have had no hesitation in doing so: but being commissioned by the brethren to undertake it, I was desirous of knowing whether I had hit their meaning. I therefore presented the "Declaration" to the synod, and it was not only read from beginning to end, in the presence of elders, bishops, and other divines, but also in a numerous and public synodal session: besides which, the Count took it, and spent a whole night over it, in order, duly and undisturbedly, to go through and revolve it in his mind.

After mature examination, the treatise was signed the following year, by the elders and more than a hundred divines, preachers, and teachers, belonging to the Unity; and copies of it were placed in the archives, and sent to the supreme authorities, with a preface, by the synod of the United Brethren.

When the synod was concluded, the Count made preparations for his departure from England, where he had this time spent a year and a half. On the 1st of July, he went to Ingatestone Hall; whilst the Countess, who had arrived from Herrnhaag on the 9th of May, returned with her youngest daughter and suite to Holland. On the 10th, the Count took leave of the brethren and sisters individually, who were to remain behind, and the day following proceeded to Harwich. His son and his son-in-law were with him, and on the 13th they arrived at Helvoet.

In Holland, he received intelligence of the appearance of many polemical writings. Notwithstanding which, the public meetings in Zeist were so numerously attended by strangers, that on Sundays, two policemen were obliged to be placed at the door to keep order; but, in the hall itself, and during sermon, all were quiet and attentive.

He remained in Holland till the end of July, previous to which, the brethren and sisters belonging to his household arrived from England; some of whom took their departure for Germany; and, on the 1st of August, he himself left Zeist at a very early hour.

On the 4th, he arrived at Neuwied, and visited the reigning Count, who was desirous of having a Moravian settlement in his territories; on which account, a deputy had been dis-

patched from Neuwied to Zeist, the previous month. The brethren, however, refused to accept the proposal, until after previous investigation and mature deliberation on both sides. The Count then proceeded to Lindheim and Marienborn, where, on the 9th, a funeral sermon was preached, in memory of Frederick Martin, whose fifteen years' labours had been so blest to the negroes in the West Indies, and who finished his course in the beginning of that year.

The same day, the Count addressed the children at the seminary in Marienborn, and departed for Saxony after again visiting Lindheim, and addressing the brethren and sisters still remaining at Herrnhaag, in a manner suited to their circumstances, by which they were much encouraged and gratified. In Eisleben, where he and his company passed the night, he went to view Luther's house, and late the same evening reached the castle at Barby, where the Countess had already arrived, and where the rest of the brethren and sisters made their appearance the day following.

The Count had proposed that a synod of the Unity should be held at Barby, to which place the seminary had been removed from Wetteravia.

The Count's intentions in holding this synod were chiefly the following:—To come once more to a clear understanding with his fellow-labourers upon the fundamental principles of the church—fully to eradicate the injurious fanaticism which had spread itself amongst so many members of the Unity, and especially amongst the teachers—to take into consideration the outward distress, which had been caused by the breaking up of Herrnhaag and other circumstances—and lastly, the continued controversies of several divines with the brethren.

After the members of the synod were assembled, he opened the sittings, which were held in two divisions: the first lasted from the 24th of August to the 15th of September; the second began on the 17th of September, and ended on the 26th.

When the synod was terminated, and the Count had spoken separately with each of its members, he sent also for the teachers of the seminary, in order to become acquainted with

each, according to his particular grace and gifts. He then conferred with the teachers of the church at Barby, and on the 7th of October, took his departure for Leipzig, thankful to the Saviour for all the mercy he had experienced in his manifold labours at Barby. In Leipzig he had a long conference with one of the ministers of state, on the affairs of the brethren. On the 11th he proceeded to Dresden, and conversed with the Rev. Mr. Herrmann, chief chaplain to the court, on the Lutheran section of the Union and its future administration. On the 13th he reached Herrnhut, the watchword for which day was, "God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved." The next day he visited Great Hennersdorf, and was much gratified on inspecting the seminaries, both for boys and girls, which had been removed thither from Herrnhaag.

He divided his time, whilst at Herrnhut, between pastoral labours and the affairs of the Unity. He also took much pains with the seminaries at Great Hennersdorf, and spent a considerable part of his time there.

The most remarkable occurrences during the remainder of the year, were the synodal conferences, which commenced on the 15th of November, and terminated on the 2d of December. It was decided, at that time, that they should be held publicly, and no one excluded from them who desired to be present.

At these conferences, four of the brethren were appointed *con-seniores civiles*, and John George Waiblinger, who was appointed to superintend the Silesian churches, received episcopal ordination.

The Count had the pleasure of seeing, in Bertholdsdorf, the pious Spener's idea of an *ecclesiola in ecclesia* realized. There were above a hundred individuals who adhered to each other from love to Christ, and edified one another in an orderly manner. The Count inquired after each in particular, afterwards gave them an address, and at the close, wished that they might be enabled to place the merits and sufferings of Jesus Christ constantly before them; for that this would sanctify, preserve, and save them; adding, that the Holy Spirit would not fail to admonish them: to whose teaching

he would commend them, and wished them all fidelity in obeying it.

The Count concluded the year, after addressing the children at Great Hennersdorf, in the customary manner with the church. He first of all spoke upon the watchword for the day, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world;" and asserted that the watchwords in the beginning of the year had been verified. It could not, indeed, be denied, that the Lord Jesus, according to his wisdom, had suffered us to be chastised, and that, for a time, we had been obliged to feel the rod and its smart: but all this proceeded from love, and, by its means, injury to the soul had been graciously prevented, which we ought to fear more than fire. The first half of the year had been a painful one, on account of those who strove to cause trouble; but God, according to his promise, had set bounds to them, which they could not pass over. Even the suffering they had caused us, had been of more benefit to us than any defence which could have been made; because the Lord, who abides by his word, will not overlook that which is unbecoming in his children.

He further alluded to his agreeable residence in England, which had been so abundantly blessed; and the provincial synod which had been commenced there, continued in Barby, and concluded at Herrnhut. At the same time, he called to mind, with fervent thankfulness, the quiet and peaceful seasons he had spent with the church at Barby and Herrnhut, according to the good hand of God upon us, and the favourable sentiments of the civil authorities.

He then mentioned the several important events which had occurred during the year; as, for instance, the safe and quick passage of the exiles from Herrnhaag to North America, in the Irene—the successful preaching of the gospel at Zeist—the bishop of Sodor and Man's acceptance of the presidency of the Reformed section of the Unity—the settlement at Neuwied of a French Moravian colony, after previous mature investigation—the formation of a small church of brethren in Ireland, by the preaching of the gospel at Dublin—the safe arrival of brother Hokker from the East, after escaping many dangers—the emigration from Herrnhaag, of which he spoke

as a thing which the Lord, in his great love and faithfulness, would certainly overrule for good; and then concluded the year with thanksgiving and praise for these manifold mercies.

In the course of the first months of the year 1751, the Count, as well as myself, prepared answers to various objections brought against the Moravian church, and himself in particular, the number and nature of which appear almost incredible. He also wrote "Short Reflections on the way in which the Controversy against him had been carried on."

In the midst of these labours, the Count was invited to Dresden, where he arrived on the 20th of April, and was met there by John Frederick Köber, the deputy of the United Brethren. The occasion of this visit was the king's wish to have Moravian settlements in his electoral territories as well as in Upper Lusatia, and, for this purpose, the district of Barby, with its castle, had been let to Count Henry XXVIII. Reuss, as above mentioned.

But because there were still several things which gave offence to the brethren in the exercise of their divine service in the chapel attached to the castle, the object of the government in Dresden, in this interview with the Count, was not only to remove every thing that was regarded as an obstruction, but also to take measures with regard to settlements of the brethren in the electorate.

The result of the conference was, that the magistrates at Barby were ordered to protect the brethren in their religious worship, and the chapel was solemnly given over to the latter.

On the 30th of April, the Count arrived at Niesky, and remained a few days there, to the joy of the Bohemian church in that place. The sermons he preached were delivered through the medium of an interpreter.

On the 3d of May, he arrived at Herrnhut, and conducted the services of the church the same evening.

A circumstance which greatly affected him during his residence there, was the decease of Christian David, on the 23d

of February. I was often with him during his illness, and must confess, that he showed himself to be a man of God to his latest breath.

He was not only the first Moravian with whom the Count became acquainted as a witness for the truth, but was instrumental, in the Lord's hand, in awakening many persons in his native land. He was one of the first elders of the church in Herrnhut; he conducted the brethren to Greenland, who first went thither as missionaries; in short, he was a servant of Jesus Christ, who was singular in his kind.

The Count having had much to do with him ever since the year 1722 (for he possessed much influence in the affairs of the brethren, and was minutely acquainted with him and every circumstance concerning him), related the particulars of his life in a copious discourse to the whole church. He was such an extraordinary man, that people were in the habit of saying, "We have only one Christian David." He possessed an intimate fellowship with the Lord, whom he served, and maintained it day and night, wherever he might be. The Bible was so precious to him, that he could never be satiated with it, and feasted upon it until his happy end. He acknowledged and confessed with heartfelt contrition, that he was a poor sinner; and yet he was not fearful in his approaches to the Saviour, but possessed a courageous faith in him. He was never idle, and whatsoever his hand found to do, he did it with all his might. When he thought that he ought to do any thing for the good of his neighbour, and according to the Divine will, he suffered nothing to restrain him from it. He often made mistakes, but he no sooner perceived his fault, than he confessed and repented of it, threw himself upon the compassion of his Saviour, and, after being consoled by him, continued his course with joy.

The Count held various conferences with the teachers of the church at Herrnhut, and those who came from other places, from the 12th to the 20th of May, which had reference principally to the doctrine.

With respect to his state of mind, as well as his sentiments and labours at this period, I will only make the following observations:—Because he sought himself to be acceptable to

the Saviour, and to live according to his will, he could not bear to find any thing in himself which he thought might and ought to be different. He had then immediate recourse to the Saviour, whose kindness he had so frequently experienced, made his complaint to him with tears, and was richly comforted. The more ashamed he felt before him, the more grace he experienced; and the powerful impression of the atonement was renewed in him on such occasions, which did not unfrequently occur; and this inwardly delighted him and encouraged him to proceed with his labours. It was the Count's daily and nightly concern, like the Apostle Paul, to "warn every man, and teach every man in all wisdom, that he might present every man perfect in Christ Jesus." (1 Col. i. 28.) He could not feel satisfied, that whilst there were so many individuals in the Moravian church, of whom he felt assured that they adhered to Christ as branches to the vine, there should still be many, whom he could only regard with doubt and apprehension. He therefore continually insisted upon it, that every one should ascertain how he stood with the Saviour, until he obtained a complete and tranquillizing certainty of his favour.

In June he took a journey to Silesia, and at Gnadenberg conferred with the ministers of the Silesian churches upon the existing state of the several congregations, and that which was the most advisable to be done. After his return he took leave of the brethren at Herrnhut, and set out for Barby, where he arrived on the 18th of June.

He found several of the brethren waiting for him there. The members of the theological seminary were likewise not a little rejoiced to have him again so near them. The boys also, who had previously been at Lindheim, with their teachers, had arrived there only a short time before. That part of the archives which had remained at Marienborn, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Vierorth, was likewise brought to Barby. The Count directed his attention to these various objects, during his residence in that place.

He frequently inspected the elder and younger boys, and addressed them on several occasions. His son spoke separately with them on the state of their hearts, and the Count

afterwards conversed with him and their teachers, fully, respecting their education.

The pupils in the seminary, individually, gave him, in writing, a clear idea of the state of their minds, with much candour; and he availed himself of the opportunity to explain his sentiments to them.

The archives also caused him much occupation, and as besides this, he spoke with each of the brethren in private regarding his state, his time was very much taken up. On this account also, he had usually a small number of persons, who dined with him in rotation, in order to have an opportunity of discoursing with each, according to their circumstances.

The administration of the presidency of the Lutheran section of the Union had continued since the year 1746, in the hands of the Count, although he had taken pains to find some other person for it. At the synod of Barby, he had again expressed his wish that some one else might take this office, who had not so many accusations brought against him with reference to doctrine as himself. But the synod, after deliberating upon the matter, re-elected him to that office, which he did not refuse, and from that time devoted himself, more than before, to the spiritual prosperity of the Lutheran section.

The chapel attached to the manorial residence at Barby, had been solemnly resigned, on the 25th of May (1751), to Count Henry XXVIII. Reuss, who was solicitous that the gospel should be duly preached in it by the brethren. Accordingly, on the 24th of June, the commencement was made by the Rev. Godfrey Clemens, chaplain to the court, in the morning, and the Rev. Dean Justin Bruinink in the afternoon.

In the beginning of July, the Count travelled to Ebersdorf, to visit the church at that place, accompanied by his son, Christian Renatus, and his son-in-law, John Von Wattewille. He overtook some of the brethren who were travelling thither, and took one after another into the carriage with him, in order to speak confidentially with them respecting the office intrusted to each.

Although suffering from indisposition whilst at Ebersdorf, he did not let it prevent him from daily addressing the church

or one of its choirs. He also held a conference with his fellow-labourers, of whom he had a considerable number with him: and in his parting address, he spoke with his confidential friends upon his past and future course at great length.

The Count was also occupied at Ebersdorf with literary labours. An extract had been made from his works, and translated into English; this he carefully revised, and wrote to the Rev. J. Gambold, who had undertaken it, his ideas on the subject.* He also laboured at the selection of the watch-words for the following year.

On the 21st of July, the Count commenced his return to England, and took his way, this time, through Switzerland and France. He was accompanied by Count Henry XXVIII. Reuss and his consort, together with several others. On the journey, a volume of Roman Catholic sermons fell into his hands, in which he found, to his great satisfaction, not only pleasing testimonies to the divinity of Christ, but also to his deep humiliation.

At Montmirail, where he arrived on the 1st of August, he remained till the 9th, in consequence of the many friends who came to visit him. Whilst speaking on the passage, "He lifted up his hands, and blessed them" (Luke xxiv. 50), he remarked, "Every thing that is of importance, either to my mind or my heart, I can commit and confide to my Saviour. That with which I should be ashamed to trouble the meanest brother who serves me, I can cast upon my Redeemer, and pour out my complaint into his ear and his heart. There is in the soul an inclination and a liberty to do this, so that the individual does not long reflect upon it, but naturally hastens directly to the Saviour, with his joy and his woe, his pleasures and his perplexities, as well as with that which is commendable or culpable in him."

On leaving Montmirail, he travelled through France to England, and arrived in London on the 24th of August, to the joy of the whole church.

* These extracts were published under the title of "Maxims, Theological Ideas, and Sentences, out of the present Ordinary of the Brethren's Dissertations and Discourses, from the year 1738 to 1747: extracted by John Gambold, M.A."

He took up his residence in the house which had been hired for him in Bloomsbury-square, but could not remain in it longer than the month of October, in consequence of its having to be rebuilt. When about to leave it, he collected all the brethren and sisters whom he had about him, and thanked God with them for the gracious protection they had all experienced in it; for had not this been specially extended towards them, the unruly mob, which so easily collects together in London, might have taken occasion, from the daily and numerously-attended meetings held in the house, and the loud singing, to force their way in, and it would have been difficult to restrain them. But as this had not once been the case during the whole time, and he had been enabled so quietly to enjoy, in his own house, the daily and gracious visitations of God his Saviour, it was a source of thankfulness with which his heart and lips overflowed.

He hoped to live in the same tranquillity at Lindsey-house, which he had caused to be fitted up for him at a considerable expense, and thanked God for it beforehand; but reminded the brethren that they must have a little patience with the people in the neighbourhood, until they were accustomed to it. In the mean time, he occupied a house nearly opposite Westminster Abbey, which had formerly belonged to Mr. Hutton, and held the first meeting there on the 4th of November.

A company of brethren and sisters, who arrived in London from Germany on the 17th of September, and who had been anxiously expected, occupied him much for a time. I was one of this company, being on my way, with several others, to North America. The superintendence of the Moravian churches in that part of the world having been again entrusted to me, he devoted several days to conversation with me and brother Hehl, who had been ordained co-bishop of the churches in Pennsylvania, respecting all the circumstances of the settlements in that country. On the 25th of September, we continued together until two o'clock in the morning, when he took leave of us; and the next day we proceeded to our vessel, which was lying at Gravesend. The Count wrote copious letters, the same day, to the churches in North America and

their ministers, and sent the letters by post to the Downs, where we received them.

He then made an excursion to Bedford, to visit the church in that place, where he also conferred with his son-in-law, John Von Wattewille, respecting his intended visitation to the churches of the brethren in Ireland, and returned to London on the 8th of October.

The Count continuing desirous of relinquishing the offices he had hitherto held in the Moravian church, again signified his resignation of them, both verbally and in writing, and sent a declaration to that effect to all the churches of the brethren.

Many of the faithful ministers of the Unity were dissatisfied with this step, and urged weighty objections against it; they were also of opinion, that many circumstances would concur to induce him to alter his purpose: for it was sufficiently evident, that it would be impossible for him to withdraw without great injury, since the direction of the whole Unity had been hitherto confided to him. This gave him an opportunity of more clearly explaining his intentions, which were, not to labour less for the prosperity of the church than he had hitherto done, but sedulously to continue to employ all his powers in the service of the Saviour, and to omit nothing which might be serviceable to the church in general, or any part of it, or even to its individual members.

He explained himself with respect to this determination, not only to those who dwelt with him, but also to the brethren and sisters appointed to the service of the church in London, in a separate letter, which was read to them on the 17th of October, by his son. At the same time, he informed them in it, what he proposed doing, during the next two months, which was, to retrace all that had occurred with him during the last thirty years; in order to which he had much to read over, and to reflect upon before God. It would therefore be impossible for him to attain his object, if his labours were frequently interrupted. Hence, he wished to decline the visits of the brethren and sisters for a couple of months; and requested them, meanwhile, to consider him as absent. This was accordingly done, as much as possible; but there were still many things concerning which it was necessary to consult him.

In the conferences which he held, in September and December, with his fellow-labourers, he endeavoured to make them comprehend why he wished to resign his offices, whilst, at the same time, he did not mean to renounce the cause itself. He accordingly declared, that he would support the credit of the deacons, and pacify their creditors. This he also did for the time, and hoped that the whole affair was terminated; but he was mistaken, as will be seen in the sequel.

Further, that he would commit the office of advocate to faithful and intelligent men, and attend himself in case of necessity, as well as be always ready, privately, to help and advise.

That he would not fail to take care that nothing should be taught in all the churches that was contrary to the doctrines of the gospel.

That he intended to call in several brethren to his aid, and to confide one division of the business of the church to one, and another to another.

But all his declarations were not sufficient to satisfy those of his fellow-labourers who were minutely acquainted with the existing state of the Unity; and the Count himself afterwards perceived, that he had been premature in his arrangements for retiring.

At the meeting held on the 31st of December, he spoke only in general terms of the inward and outward position of the church. He then referred to the watchwords of the previous month, which contained many very consolatory promises, and assured his hearers that they might confidently expect their fulfilment.

The Count spent the year 1752 in England, and resided at Westminster. He read the Scriptures diligently, with the learned men who were with him; and observed, on these occasions, the many repetitions of the ceremonial laws, the cause of which seemed to him to be, not only the Oriental mode of expression, but also, in particular, a solicitude to make the instructions for the priests and Levites as clear and explicit as possible. This induced him to make extracts from the Bible, to serve as a manual for daily use amongst the brethren.

He did not, however, proceed further with it than the book of Exodus, probably for want of time.

He also diligently continued to labour at a hymn-book of the Brethren's church, which he had commenced the previous year; it was not, however, finished that year, although he devoted much time to it, and even printed a part of it.

On the 4th of January, he commenced a series of discourses, in the chapel of the brethren in London, upon Luther's exposition of the third article of faith. These discourses, which were fifteen in number, were afterwards printed, as well as fourteen other sermons, which he preached the same year in London.

The Count was not in the habit of complaining often or heavily of the injurious treatment he received; with reference to which he once expressed himself to this effect: "I do not think it necessary to make a great show of the cross I am called to bear, but would rather bear it unobserved and in silence; indeed, the church would latterly have been spared the pain of hearing the calumnies so industriously propagated against myself, if it had been in my power to prevent it. The sun, I know, will shine again; but while the gloom is permitted to endure, something is gained, both of comfort and safety, by remaining tranquil."

To quote an instance of the truth of his observation:—In a French magazine, published in London, an extract had appeared from certain writings against the brethren, which might truly be termed poisonous. In reply to it, a well-written defence, by a friend of the brethren, was not only inserted, but the editor of the magazine voluntarily made a public apology on the occasion,—which is something of rare occurrence.

A work was also published this year, by the Rev. William Frederick Jung, of Haynchen in Wetteravia, entitled, "The Spirit of Luther reanimated in Count Zinzendorf," which was much read in many places. The author had perused every thing that had been written for and against the brethren and the Count in Germany; and, as he resided not far from Marienborn and Herrnhaag, he had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the brethren during the space of ten or twelve

years, and of hearing them himself. From his youth up he had diligently studied Luther's works, and was well versed in the history of the Reformation; and he found such a similarity between the religious controversies of those times and the present, that he felt impelled to lay it before the eyes of every intelligent and sincere Lutheran: for he saw that the very truths which Luther had taught, were professed by the brethren and the Count, and were opposed in a very similar manner.

But to return to the Count. Although he was much relieved by a Commission appointed to manage the office of advocate, yet there were still many difficulties with respect to pecuniary concerns. The customary outlay continued, and, besides this, the deacons had considerable sums to pay, which had been already expended; whilst sources from whence they expected assistance, had disappointed them.

Under these circumstances, the Count clearly saw that it was necessary to make other arrangements, and lamented that this had not been done earlier. The fault lay, at all events, chiefly with him, and this he also perceived. A stranger, however, offered to advance the sum that was required, upon the Count's responsibility; and because at the time there seemed no other resource, the Count was induced to consent to it.

He then hoped that every thing was settled; but this time he was greatly mistaken, as will afterwards appear. The Count, however, thought, that children of God should not be discouraged, even by difficulties which they had drawn upon themselves by their own fault, but filially look, during the chastisement, to the hand of God, and expect deliverance from him. Hence, he was wont, immediately after discussing painful subjects with the deacons, to preach the gospel to the church with a cheerful and courageous heart: for he was fully persuaded, that God would bring some good out of things apparently so distressing.

In order to gain time for his labours, he appointed a certain day every week for receiving visitors, and the gentlemen who loved his society were satisfied with the regulation. His acquaintance with his English friends now became more real and

intimate. The conversations he held with the bishops of London, Lincoln, and Worcester, were always directed to the subjects to which he was most attached. The former highly esteemed the brethren's bold confession of Christ, the sole cause of our salvation, who is God over all, blessed for ever: the two latter gladly availed themselves of every opportunity to be of service to the brethren. The Count conversed with Lords Chesterfield and Granville, the Duke of Argyle, Sir Luke Schaub, General Oglethorpe, Mr. Erskine, and others, respecting the Moravian settlements. He was likewise on terms of intimate friendship with two other persons of rank, who took a deep interest in the welfare of a great number of oppressed Protestants; and continued his intimacy with them as long as he lived.

Lord Granville, having offered the brethren for sale a hundred thousand acres of land in North Carolina, the offer was at length accepted, after mature reflection, and the preliminary conditions agreed to on both sides. Before the close of the year, some of the brethren set out for North Carolina, and had the land measured out.

In the month of May, Frederick William Hokker left London for Cairo in Egypt, and the Count provided him with credentials, addressed to the patriarch of the Copts in Cairo; in which he gave him an outline of the Moravian church, and the office he sustained in it, and warmly recommended the bearer, as a deacon of that church.

Some brethren also felt induced to hazard a voyage to Labrador, in order to see whether any thing could be done amongst the inhabitants of that country, who were supposed to be of the same nation with the Greenlanders, to convert them to Christ; and the Count accompanied them with his fervent prayers.

He held a synodal conference with the ministers of the Moravian church in England, which lasted from the 17th to the 22d of May.

In these conferences, the Count remarked, how necessary it was that proper discernment should be exercised in the spiritual care of individual souls; so that while nothing was neglected which the character or circumstances of each required,

no fault would be committed through haste or inconsiderate zeal. He also spoke of the injury which would arise, if any one were appointed over others, before there was good reason to believe that he was himself thoroughly converted; and that it might be attended with still more pernicious consequences, if a person in such a state were admitted to the holy sacrament; for, being a partaker of the communion of the body and blood of the Lord, implied much more than the mere undertaking of an office in the church.

On going over the places in England, where the brethren had preached the gospel for the last ten years, it was gratefully remembered, with what simplicity and grace the work had been every where commenced, and lamented that several things were not in the same course as formerly: however, many things appeared, in which, through grace, there had been an improvement.

Soon after this synod, the Count's only son, Christian Renatus, departed this life. This event was the more painful to him, because, for some time, he had had him almost continually about him, and had advantageously employed him, as his immediate assistant, in the correspondence and other business, and also cherished still greater hopes of him with respect to the Lord's service in future.

The reader will remember how the young Count had been entangled in the extravagances which prevailed in some of the Moravian stations. After being restored to the simple path from which he had deviated, the grace of God evidently manifested itself in him. He not only lamented and wept over the time he had lost, in which he had suffered himself to be seduced to seek something superior to the preaching of Christ crucified, but also found so much comfort and joy in meditating upon the sufferings of the Saviour and his precious merits, that he felt entirely reanimated. His heart being thus inflamed with love to Jesus, he was extremely solicitous that a similar fire might burn in the hearts of the single brethren, and especially amongst his fellow-labourers. He stated his feelings to them most impressively, both by word and writing, and prayed to the Lord on their behalf, with many tears. When he saw that the desire of his heart was not immediately

granted, it pained him deeply, and he was inconsolable. From that time also, the Lord blessed his labours in such a manner, that he was useful to many.

But it must not be omitted to mention, that the grief which his former aberration caused him, manifested itself continually in his countenance. His former cheerfulness and vivacity was changed into an unwonted seriousness. His greatest pleasure consisted in composing hymns and poems, by means of which, he hoped to impart his altered sentiments and ardent love to the Saviour and his sufferings, to his nearest acquaintances. Having little time for this during the day, he often spent whole nights in these labours. He was, at the same time, indefatigable in waiting upon his father, and did not let him know how often he had passed the night without sleep. He was incessantly anxious to repair the injury which had been done by the temptation into which he had fallen, and which now appeared to him in its proper light; and because he found that many persons, who were at that time about him, had deceived him, it made him not only more prudent and circumspect, but caused him to remonstrate with others warmly and earnestly, if he supposed there was any thing improper. This contrast of circumstances had such an effect upon his constitution, that the year before, a degree of debility, and a disposition to consumption, had been observed in him. The amiable and in some respects extraordinary state of heart and mind which he manifested at the same time, excited in some of his most intimate friends, though least of all in his father, the idea that the Lord was hastening with him towards his dissolution. After a constant cough of some months, and many sleepless nights, he burst a blood-vessel, which brought him near his end. He was subsequently seized with other unfavourable symptoms, which compelled him to withdraw from all occupation. In this weak state he spent three months.

On the 26th of May, which was his father's birth-day, he felt concerned only at being unable to afford him pleasure. The next day he distinctly stated, that he was about to go to the Saviour. Not long before his happy departure, when some of the brethren, to whom he was much attached, were with him, he mentioned some verses, which he wished them to

sing, in which he also joined, notwithstanding his weakness, and their contents showed that his spirit was more with the church above than with that below; and thus, on the 28th of May, he joyfully entered into his rest.

I cannot describe how his father felt, who was at Mile End, when the news was brought to him; but I can say thus much, that when he afterwards reflected what his son had been to him (and this was often the case), his eyes overflowed with grief and thankfulness: but his tears flowed still more freely, on looking over his son's papers, when he found what he had noted down of his daily intercourse with the Saviour. He saw from this, how filially, fervently, and tenderly, he had loved the Saviour, and how intimate had been the intercourse he maintained with him. Innumerable tears were shed for the departed Christian Renatus, not only by his father, but by other members of the church; for he was generally much beloved.

But, although the Count felt the loss of his son so deeply, he did not, on that account, postpone the customary meetings in his house, any more than his other business. On the 19th of June, he took occasion to state what were his sentiments with respect to his children; that he had made a covenant with the Saviour, from the moment of their birth, never to regard them as his own; but to resign them wholly to the Saviour, as his property. It depended, therefore, solely upon him what he would do with them, and how long he would leave them here below; whilst he had resolved not to raise any opposition to it.

The Countess had left Herrnhut, in the hopes of seeing her son in London; but received the intelligence of his decease before she reached Zeist. The more tenderly she loved him, the more deeply was her maternal heart affected. She remained therefore in Zeist till the beginning of July, when she prosecuted her journey, and on the 6th, the Count had the pleasure to welcome her at Ingatestone-hall; but her stay in England was not of long duration; several circumstances, which required her presence in Germany, induced her to return thither, on the 23d of August.

I will here remark, also, that the Count and Countess had

been previously much rejoiced by the birth of their first grandson, John Louis Von Wattewille, on the 7th of March, at Herrnhut.

After the decease of his son, the Count could not refrain from taking more particular charge of the choirs of the single brethren in all the churches. He was already well acquainted with the state of these members, from having had his son so much about him during the two preceding years, and from having often conversed with him on the subject. He now read all the letters he could find, which he had written and received, and which gave him a still deeper insight into the state of these choirs in general, as well as of several of their members. Many of the brethren also wrote to him, and informed him, with much candour, of their own state, as well as that of the choir to which they belonged.

Meanwhile, some months elapsed before he took the matter fully in hand; but, towards the end of the year, he assembled all the leaders of the choirs of the single brethren to a synod in London, in order to discuss with them every thing relating to their choirs. Some of the brethren who superintended the boys' schools and seminaries, were also present. His first object was, to make himself minutely acquainted with them. He afterwards went through all the choirs of the single brethren, the youths, and the boys, and made inquiry into the particular state of each. He then took the lists, and procured information concerning many to whom his attention had been directed. He even did not forget those who, for whatever cause, had left the church, or been expelled from it; after which, he reverted to the period of the commencement of these institutions, and renewed the object contemplated when they were in their first simplicity, which was, that after the brethren had laid Christ as the foundation, they might be preserved spotless, both in body and soul, and be like-minded with Jesus Christ; for it was he alone, whom they had to take for their pattern. He reminded them of the principles on which they had originally founded their connexion with each other, and that their object was, to be at the Saviour's service when, where, and how he might choose to employ them. At the same time, he spoke of their being employed

amongst the heathen, of their usefulness in the various institutions of the church, of their temporal occupations, of the several offices belonging to the different choirs, of their connexion with other choirs, of their correspondence with him, and many other topics.

Every thing was transacted in a fraternal and cordial manner. The Count manifested much affection for them; and spoke of himself, and his former and present circumstances, so confidentially and frankly, that he excited them to the exercise of similar sincerity and candour.

I have still to mention, that John Von Wattewille, who had taken his departure for Greenland on a visitation to the mission in that country, returned towards the end of December, and before the synod of the single brethren had terminated. This caused them great joy; for the Lord had signally blessed his labours amongst them, from his entrance into the church; and he was now again commissioned by the synod, to undertake a visitation to them.

Before the brethren who had come to the synod separated, the remains of the late Count Christian Renatus, which had been only temporarily interred, were committed to the tomb; on which occasion, John Von Wattewille reminded the brethren, with much emotion, of the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, which had so particularly manifested itself in the latter years of the young Count's earthly life. The interment took place with prayer, thanksgiving, and the singing of suitable hymns, amidst the copious tears of the brethren, who felt afresh how tenderly they had loved him. They afterwards renewed their covenant with each other, to make the looking unto the crucified Jesus, and the consideration of his sufferings, death, and blood-shedding, their chief concern till their latest breath; and also to seek to preserve their souls and bodies undefiled as became those who are the true followers of Christ.

At the close of the year, which the Count celebrated with the church in his house, he called to mind its most remarkable events, in a discourse, which was afterwards communicated to all the churches. He reckoned the year amongst those, in which much labour had been expended on many things that had occurred, during which, the Lord's superintending hand

had been evidently perceived. He also regarded it as a year in which he had endured much oppression; but by this he did not mean reproach for Christ's sake, since he considered that as a happiness,—but a variety of things which had been attempted for the purpose of confusing and injuring the brethren, both by wicked men and by Satan himself.

I now come to a year which proved a very distressing one to the Count. It has been already mentioned, that the deacons of the brethren had been compelled to borrow money upon interest, and that their affairs in England had become so complex that the Count could no longer minutely overlook them.

Some merchants in England, who belonged to the Moravian church, sought to assist them with their credit; and thus, for a time, the pressure was removed: but the consequence of this system of credit was, that at length neither party could extricate themselves.

The merchants above mentioned, had unfortunately entered into bill transactions with a Jew, who, after receiving from them a considerable sum in advance, became bankrupt, quite unexpectedly, at the beginning of this year (1753). This caused a larger sum to be demanded of the merchants and the deacons, for whom they had procured ready money, than they were in reality indebted for, or were immediately able to pay. As soon as this became known, the creditors, both of the merchants and deacons (as is customary in such cases), immediately took the alarm, and insisted upon being paid. The most painful thing was, that amongst the individuals interested in this affair, there were several bitter opponents of the brethren, who rejoiced at the opportunity of totally ruining them. Ill-disposed people also inserted, almost daily, such things against the brethren, in the public papers, as might easily have excited a mob against them, which, in London, is a very dangerous affair.

Under these circumstances the deacons applied to the Count, entreating him once more to interfere, and stand in the breach, for otherwise ruin would be inevitable.

The deacons were of the Count's own appointing, and most

of the things which caused expense had been ordered by him, and the deacons were responsible to him : but he was ignorant of the credit-system in which they had involved themselves, and on hearing of it, relied upon their fidelity and ability in the management of the affair. He was therefore much grieved at what they now told him, and saw, too late, what he ought to have done in justice to himself and his office.

The merchants, above mentioned, who were not ignorant that their credit, as well as that of the deacons, was not a little supported by the Count's rank and office, as the agent of the brethren, although unknown to himself,—also expected advice and assistance from him. They stated their distress to him, and this increased his grief.

Whilst the Count was deliberating what course to pursue in such a critical affair, a deputation of the well-disposed creditors waited on him, and requested him to interfere in the matter. They were well aware, that they could not legally compel him to do so ; but as many evil results would be prevented by his mediation, they doubted not, that from love to the brethren and the well-disposed amongst the creditors, he would feel induced to render his timely and efficient assistance ; adding, that God would recompense him for so doing, and they, on their part, would do all in their power to facilitate the mediation.

However hazardous it seemed to him to take this step, yet he was both unable and unwilling to decline it, because he saw that there was no other remedy. He therefore resolved, in God's name, to venture upon it ; and immediately wrote, in his own hand, to the general body of creditors, stating, that he would take upon himself the whole of the debt, and liquidate it at certain dates, paying interest in the interim.

When the creditors met to confer upon the matter, the majority of them found the Count's proposals so reasonable, that they thankfully accepted them : there were, however, some amongst them, who, in defiance of the remonstrances of the rest, insisted upon being immediately paid. Sufficient security was offered them, but rejected ; until at length two of the other creditors agreed to satisfy these harsh people from their own funds.

Thus this painful affair was regulated by a document drawn up for the purpose, and which was signed by Count Zinzendorf and Count Henry XXVIII. Reuss, who at that period was residing in London,—a circumstance which doubtless afforded support and consolation to the Count.

The danger impending over the deacons was thus averted; but many things fell upon the Count, which did not seem to belong to his vocation: for he had not only made himself responsible to the creditors above mentioned, but had previously become surety for considerable sums advanced the deacons, to extricate them at once from the credit-system. The money also, which was remitted to England for him, had been for some time applied for this purpose, without its being possible immediately to make other sufficient arrangements. Occasionally, his best-concerted measures proved abortive; and he was once placed in such circumstances as presented every prospect of his being sent to prison, along with a person he valued and esteemed, who had bound himself for the payment of a certain sum, because the money did not arrive at the time he expected it; but after actually preparing himself for it, he received the sum he required, by the post, which arrived earlier than usual. He then sent for the individual above mentioned (who happened to be at Lindsey-house just at the time), gave him the bill of exchange, and reminded him of the watch-word of the day, which was a very appropriate one, whilst the latter was filled with joy and astonishment at the circumstance.

The Count frequently experienced similar help from the Lord, in the course of that year; and the more filially he adhered to him whom he served, under such circumstances, the greater was the consolation and aid afforded him by the Saviour.

The Count had reason to be dissatisfied with the deacons, for having exceeded the bounds of their commission, and entered upon a system, which, in its results, had produced nothing but injury and loss, as well as much sorrow and distress: but, on this occasion, he blamed himself much more than others. It was evident to him, as he expressed himself, that nothing of the kind would have occurred amongst the brethren, and all such like pernicious measures have been

choked on the outset, if he had only fulfilled that part of his duty more carefully.

It did not suffice him, however, to confess this to himself; but he assembled the elders of the church, who were at that time with him, and, with much pain and regret, confessed to them the fault he had committed. His severity towards himself went so far, that he requested them to write to all the churches, informing them that he had been deservedly stripped of all his offices. But when the brethren showed him the reasons why they could not comply with his request, he took occasion publicly to make this confession in one of his discourses, and afterwards sent it to all the churches.

This heartfelt acknowledgment of his error, which was made with tears and expressions of profound regret, deeply and visibly affected his auditory: for he reverted also to past years, and mournfully pointed out all the mistakes he had made from time to time, which excited in others feelings peculiar to the contrite in heart.

The Saviour, however, who so favourably regards the humble and the meek, did not long leave the Count in this sorrowful state, but comforted him with the consciousness of his favour and his complete forgiveness; and thus his heart was again filled with peace and joy.

His chief concern was, that under every circumstance, nothing should be omitted or given up, with reference to the preaching of the gospel, and the arrangements for that purpose: but he considerately premised, that every thing should be done with more faith, more fidelity, and more prudence and order.

In the church he reminded the brethren, that they ought not to think of entreating the Saviour immediately to remove that which was painful and oppressive in the matter; for he believed it did not come fortuitously, but that God himself had so permitted it—not to injure, but as a salutary remedy. The brethren ought, therefore, to pray that the Lord's intentions in the increasing difficulties might be realized. This was what he heartily did himself; and his prayer was, "Dear Saviour, let the chastisement which thou vouchsafest us, pro-

duce salutary fruit in us, and not be removed from us until it shall please thee to remove it!"

He was, therefore, satisfied with the dealings of his God and Saviour under these trying circumstances; respecting which he writes, under date 11th of July: "The sun has certainly scorched me a little this year; but yet my heart is no stormy sea, for it is very calm and placid. And supposing that I am even enduring affliction, and that my harp is hung upon the willows, yet I can say I am happy, and that during my whole life, in all that I have experienced, I have never felt more comfortable.

Just at the time when the Count was thus suffering from pecuniary embarrassments, one statement after another was published in England against the brethren. Amongst others, a person entirely unknown to them, thought fit to make extracts from the works which had appeared against them and the Count, in Holland and Germany, and to lay them, with additions, before the English public. An acquaintance of this man's met him once in the Park, and spoke with him on the subject; on which the latter candidly confessed, that he had done it only to earn something, and that he would just as willingly have written in favour of the brethren, if they had commissioned him to do so.

One of the publications distinguished itself by the harshness of its accusations against the Count, and was not only publicly offered for sale in the streets, but was also put into the hands of every member of parliament on going into the house. The Count made inquiry of the Speaker, as well as of the President of the Privy-Council, and other lords, what he ought to do in the matter. Their opinions were divided; some thought he ought to pay no attention to it, for such things were so customary in London, that nothing need be apprehended from it; whilst others advised him to bring an action against the author, and seemed to think it almost indispensable. The Count himself reflected whether he ought not to say with David, "Let him curse! the Lord hath bidden him;" and could not at the moment resolve upon replying to the libellous attack. Meanwhile, other answers to it appeared, and, to the best of my knowledge, were well received. The Count also permitted his brief memoir to the Privy-Council

in Dresden to be translated into English, and published in London, which gave great satisfaction to many friends of the brethren.

Towards the end of March, the Count, with all the brethren and sisters who had hitherto resided with him at Westminster, removed to Lindsey-house, which was now entirely fitted up for him. His intention with respect to it was, that the direction of the Union might from time to time have its seat there, and from thence attend to the affairs of the churches. The situation was convenient for this purpose, since it lay between the continental and American churches; and the house itself, with its appurtenances, possessed the requisite room for the accommodation of the brethren, who assembled from various countries and places to the synodal conferences: for it contained spacious saloons for the domestic meetings, and a chapel near at hand for the public preaching of the gospel, together with an excellent burial-ground, which he called Sharon, and of which the church in London subsequently availed itself. There was also a printing-press attached to it, which the Count regarded as necessary.

He could not, indeed, calculate that this house would become a permanent residence either for himself or his household; for he felt that he was a pilgrim upon earth, upon whom it was incumbent to remove wherever the Saviour chose to place him. But as he dwelt there for the time, he arranged every thing in the manner he was in the habit of doing elsewhere. Scarcely a week passed without the arrival of intelligence and inquiries from all the churches and missions, which were subsequently discussed in conferences, in which those who were appointed or destined for the service of the church, and were resident with him at the time, were generally present.

The Count, in consequence of his declaration above stated, regarded himself as suspended from his office for the time; and the elders of the church, who were then in London, assembled daily, at his suggestion, for the dispatch of business; asking, at the same time, advice of the Count, which he never refused them. In his domestic worship, he spoke less frequently, and very briefly. Meanwhile, he was not idle, but laboured indefatigably in retirement; nor did the work of

the Lord sustain any interruption, notwithstanding the many difficulties and apparent impossibilities to be surmounted. The *Irene* proceeded again to North America with a considerable number of brethren and sisters, who, notwithstanding an unexpectedly long voyage, arrived safely at their destination. The bills of sale for the land purchased in North Carolina were not only drawn out and liquidated, but possession taken of the district itself by fifteen brethren from Pennsylvania, who called it the Wachau. Besides other things, provision was also to be made for those who still resided at Herrnhaag, which had to be completely evacuated that year.

The pecuniary embarrassments noticed above, gave rise to a synodal conference, at which I was also present, on my return from America. The Count refused to preside at it, and was desirous that the synod should thoroughly investigate the reasons why he had suspended himself from his office, and come to a decision upon the subject; for he believed and confessed that he was to blame for the confusion which had arisen in the pecuniary department, because he had not prevented it, nor timely sought to remove the evil. The presidency was therefore committed to Leonard Dober; notwithstanding which, the labours connected with it fell mostly, with the consent of the synod, upon the Count.

Respecting some of the points discussed, no final decision could be taken; and the Count was therefore commissioned to regulate, during the remainder of the year, those things that could not be arranged at the time. However, several important subjects were discussed at this conference. One of its chief objects was, how, from that time, the work of the Lord might be carried on, not only in one mind, but also according to one fundamental plan and method. The Count did not spare himself, but mentioned the faults he had committed; at the same time, he very candidly told the brethren, though with much wisdom and affection, wherein they also had been defective: he likewise gave hopes that many things would now be regulated, which could not be altered before, because it was necessary to wait for the proper time.

The Count, notwithstanding the unpleasant circumstances which had occurred, had laboured so indefatigably at the

hymn-book, that he was able to lay it before the conference: the first part of it had been already printed in London, and contains 2169 hymns. But as it was the opinion that this book should not be immediately introduced into the Moravian churches, but be submitted to a more minute revision, the edition printed was but small.

To facilitate the work, the revision was divided among ten of the brethren, of whom each took a part for himself, and laid his thoughts upon it, in writing, before the conference. Although there was no material objection against the use of the hymn-book in the Moravian churches, yet it was proposed to the Count, to insert in the next edition, some excellent ancient and modern hymns, in the place of others, which might be better omitted; as well as to attend to the remarks made by the brethren upon them. But a second edition did not appear.

I will here add something respecting the second part of the hymn-book, which was printed in London the following year. It contains more than a thousand hymns of the eighteenth century; many of them of the Count's own composition. It was his intention to leave out of this collection all those hymns against which there was any thing to object; but he afterwards found, that he had not attained his purpose. Hence he scrupled, in the sequel, to acknowledge the work, nor was it ever introduced into the Moravian churches.

A commencement was also made this year in preparing an English hymn-book, which appeared in 1754, under the title of "A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God, in all ages, from the beginning until now, designed chiefly for the use of the Congregations in union with the Brethren's Church." Most of the hymns are translated from the German, and a variety of metres introduced, on account of the melodies, which are not common in England. Besides these translations, the hymn-book contains an excellent collection of hymns, originally English, of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries: there are also many select hymns translated from the Welch language.

The Count not only superintended this work, but also translated many of the hymns himself from German into English.

The desire of some friends for a short account of the doctrine, constitution, and usages of the brethren, occasioned some questions to be proposed to the Count, relative to these subjects. He wrote answers to them, which he communicated to the synodal conference, which agreed to them with pleasure. From these answers, a small work was afterwards compiled, at the suggestion of a friend in Switzerland; which, notwithstanding its brevity, comprises more than is contained in many other works on the subject.

Many things were also said in this conference, respecting the irregularities and disorders which had infected a part of the Unity. The Count, who was inclined to consider himself to blame for every thing, accused himself also for not having opposed, with timely and sufficient zeal, the frivolities which he had nevertheless continued to reprove. But whatever cause he had to mourn on that account, he had the consolation and the joy to see that many, and by degrees almost all of those who had gone astray, deeply lamented their folly, fled for refuge to the wounds of Jesus, and united afresh in vowing faithful obedience to him. But as some thought these people ought to undergo ecclesiastical discipline, and thus openly manifest a detestation of their previous ways, he declared that he could not and would not impose penance upon, or be in any way the cause of suffering to any individual, who bitterly wept like Peter, and like him, obtained grace and forgiveness from the Saviour.

No one had hitherto objected more frequently to the great ideas which the brethren had of the Moravian church, than the Count himself. He had always so much fault to find with their labours, that he could not be satisfied with them: but on reflecting, at the close of this year, what the grace of Christ had effected in them, he was more encouraged. It was evident to him, that the churches of the brethren constituted, not merely in name, but in reality, an unity; and he wished, at the same time, that they might walk more and more in accordance with their high vocation.

The past year, notwithstanding all the painful circumstances in which the Count had been involved, had furnished him with cause for heartfelt thankfulness to God. Dangerous things,

which might have utterly destroyed the union existing, were brought to light, and the Count had opportunity afforded him of ascertaining the full extent of them.

He clearly perceived the mistakes he had made, with all his good intentions and apparent reason, in the service of the Unity; and on confessing his faults, he found favour in the sight of God and man. This enabled him to assist the brethren, and especially the deacons, who meant well, although they had greatly erred, and, with the help of God, to rescue them from their difficulties. The cause of Christ, which was entrusted to him, suffered no injury in consequence, but prospered everywhere. Hence the Count himself, whilst describing this year as a trying one, speaks of it also as abounding in forgiveness and amendment—and, in short, as a blessed season.

In the beginning of 1754, the Count underwent a severe illness, which lasted nearly six weeks. At its commencement, he continued assiduously at his work, but when this was no longer practicable, and he was obliged to take to his bed, he accepted the rest from labour thus afforded him, as a Divine favour. The Lord, also, by his consolations, rendered every thing easy to him, and he asserted, that at the time when his sickness was at its height, he had enjoyed a most pleasing and blissful season. He assisted, as much as circumstances permitted, on necessary and important occasions, and did not abstain from giving information and advice when asked, although he was unable to enter into particulars.

In a journal, which he kept that year, it is mentioned that on the 30th of January, he felt particularly incited to bless the Lord. He did so, noted down the day, and afterwards saw from the letters, which arrived from different places, that much had occurred that day, which was useful and profitable to the brethren.

On the 23d of February, he held a solemn thanksgiving-day, in his own house. He first of all spoke with a small company of brethren and sisters, respecting the providential care of our heavenly Father, which the Moravian church had experienced generally, and particularly during the previous trying year.

A meeting of the whole household was then held, in which he excited them to bless and praise God, and to mutual and cordial brotherly love. After the meeting, there were love-feasts, at which a hymn of thanksgiving was sung for the Lord's wonderful aid experienced up to that period.

From this time, he made the necessary arrangements, in order that the secular affairs of the church should in future be transacted with greater regularity: he appointed a new committee for this purpose, of which he only retained the superintendence. The Society in Holland for assisting and promoting Missions having been for some time dissolved, and the English one in a state of inactivity, a new deaconry was appointed for missionary affairs, in order that every thing might not fall upon one set of deacons. For the same purpose, a deaconry was formed to furnish the resources for the institutions of the Unity.

In this manner, a new course of things commenced, respecting which the Count declared, that the brethren had each performed his part with diligence, fidelity, and much labour; by which means the care of the whole, which devolved upon him, had been greatly alleviated, so that he only had to look on, and thank the Saviour for every thing.

He also held frequent conferences in his own house, attended faithfully to the spiritual necessities of its inmates, and removed the seminary for children from Mile-End to Chelsea, in order to have them nearer him, and be the better able to take charge of them.

He suffered nothing, however, to interrupt his private intercourse with his Saviour, respecting which he observed, "The entering into our closets, and shutting the door upon us, and praying to God in secret, is a necessary thing for every child of God; and if this declines in a church, it is an injury which neither meetings, nor classes, nor societies, can repair; and brings with it an estrangement from the person of the Saviour, who ought to be near and present to us every moment, and from whose personal and private communion we ought to suffer nothing to detach us."

A considerable number of brethren and sisters paid a visit this year at the house of the Count. The Countess

also returned to England in August, to deliberate with him on the circumstances of her family, as well as respecting many things concerning the churches. She remained there till towards the end of October, and spent her time very agreeably; then went back by way of Calais to Berlin, where she visited the Count's aged mother, and caused her great joy by presenting her three daughters to her.

Count Henry XXVIII. Reuss also returned to Germany, and many other brethren were dispatched to their destinations. I likewise returned in March to North America, after taking a most cordial leave of the Count, with a company of brethren, who had previously received their instructions from him. I went with Captain Garrison, in the *Irene*, and had a more rapid passage to New York than had ever been known before; for I was little more than three weeks on the voyage.

The Count also dispatched missionaries to Greenland and Berbice, and took measures for the commencement of a new mission among the negro slaves in Jamaica.

Respecting his labours amongst the brethren in England, I notice, first, the conference held with the English ministers and teachers in May of that year. In a sermon preached on the 10th of May, he says, that "God having kindled a fire in England as well as other countries, by which many hundred individuals had been awakened, he expected, from his English fellow-labourers, a fidelity commensurate with this gracious visitation. The national liberty they enjoyed ought not to serve as an excuse for declension in obedience to the Saviour, but they ought to offer themselves up, with their whole hearts, to his service; for, if they would not do that, it would be better for them to have nothing to do with the affairs of the brethren." The next day, he showed them "how a church ought to stand immutably firm upon that which it recognises as right in the sight of God; and if any one opposed it, they would do better immediately to reject him, rather than wait till he parted from them of his own accord; but if any one voluntarily detached himself from them, they ought not to be over anxious about it, but firmly to believe he did not belong to them."

At the end of June, the Count undertook a journey to visit

the Moravian churches in England. On the 29th, he came to Tytherton, in Wiltshire, and after conversing with those who had the care of the church there, and preaching on the words, "We love him, because he first loved us;" he proceeded by way of Bath to Bristol. He had there an opportunity of seeing and speaking with those to whom the brethren had hitherto preached the gospel. On making inquiry of them, they unanimously stated, that they had long sought rest for their souls, and were now able to thank God that they had been directed to it by the ministry of the brethren. The Count then took great pains to show them, that they would do well to continue with the denomination in which they had been brought up; the brethren would not fail to assist them with good advice, with regard to their spiritual state: but to this it was replied, that for reasons which were of importance to them, they could not resolve upon doing so; and, although some were not disinclined to follow his advice, yet the majority believed it would be better for them to be placed entirely under the care of the brethren. They also wrote individually to the Count, and gave him to understand, that they could not refrain from heartily desiring to be admitted into fellowship with the Moravian church. He took time to reflect upon this; and after his return to London, it was resolved, in conference, to form these people into a church of the brethren, which was accordingly done that year.

On the 3d, the Count was again at Bath, where he was visited by a man whom the brethren had baptized, and who expressed himself upon the state of his heart, with many tears, in a manner greatly to his satisfaction. On the 4th of July, he returned to Lindsey-house; but on the 12th, proceeded to Bedford. The brethren there received him very cordially, and, as he himself says, he was able to associate with them as freely as if he had been amongst his brethren at Herrnhut. He then inspected the chapel, the houses for the single brethren and sisters, the burial-ground, and also visited the children's seminary. He saw the members of the church in their different choirs, that he might become personally acquainted with every individual of them, and then edified them by an address in the English language. After

holding a conference with the teachers of the church, he continued his journey to Fulneck, where he arrived on the 18th of July, and remained till the 15th of August. During this time, final arrangements were made with the proprietors of the land on which the buildings had been erected, which were satisfactory on both sides. The Count saw all the persons belonging to this church, who amounted to above twelve hundred: he made some useful regulations amongst them, and preached to them several sermons, which were much blessed to them. Several of the English brethren, who arrived just at that time from London, were also very active in their labours, and the Lord was with them.

When the Count, soon after his arrival, held a singing-meeting, and gave an address, in the English language, he missed John Worthington, the organist; and on inquiring for him, heard that his departure from this world was hourly expected. He was ill of a consumption, and already quite emaciated and enfeebled by it. In these circumstances the Count visited him, and spoke to him of the blessedness of becoming truly acquainted with the Saviour in the present life, and of the joyful certainty of being eternally his. He then asked him what he thought respecting the issue of his illness? and was answered, that he hoped soon to depart and to be with Christ. The Count then said, that he should be glad still to have him at the organ during the meetings; but it seemed to be a thing utterly impossible to the brethren who were present. On being again attacked by a most violent cough, the Count approached him, laid his hands upon the head of the sick man, silently blessed him, and then left him; but Worthington, after the cough had ceased, fell into a profound sleep, with a sweet impression of the blessing imparted to him by the Count, and did not awake until about six o'clock the next morning, being the first quiet night he had enjoyed for five months. During the whole of that time he had never eaten with an appetite; but now he relished his breakfast, and required his dinner before it was noon. His cough subsided, his strength hourly increased, and on the third day he was already so strong, that, with the help of another, he could go to the meeting, and was able to play the organ

during the whole of the time the Count spent in Yorkshire.*

On the 18th of August, the Count proceeded to Ockbrook, and celebrated the holy communion with the church in that place; and after having given a cordial address to the children and adults, he set off again on the 20th, and arrived on the 22d at Lindsey-house, where he found, to his great pleasure, the Countess, Baron Frederick Von Wattewille, and others.

John Von Wattewille, who had completed a visitation of the German churches, having also reached London soon after, the Count held almost daily conferences with them and others of the brethren then present. He also increased the list of ministers, and spoke in the conferences of their present employment, and future destination. He had the names of those who had finished their course in the Saviour's service written upon the walls of the saloon where the meetings were held, and sometimes took occasion at the love-feasts, to mention that which was the most remarkable in regard to some of them. In like manner he caused the names of the lovers of Jesus in every age, so far as they were known, to be inscribed on the walls of the saloon adjoining his parlour, according to the succession of time, and took pleasure, when alone or with others, in renewing the remembrance of them with gratitude towards the Head of the church.

In November, he held a synod with the brethren appointed for the service of the English churches: it commenced on the 11th, and terminated on the 17th. At this synod, it was found advisable, in consequence of the increase of the churches in England, that a bishop should be appointed over them. The Rev. John Gambold, hitherto minister of the London congregation, was proposed, and there being no hesitation respecting this worthy man, he received episcopal ordination, from the hands of three bishops.

The Count observed concerning this synod, that our Lord

* Worthington himself copiously detailed the matter to me, in a letter dated Wyke, 27th of August, 1766. He afterward became minister of the Moravian church at Ockbrook, and at the time this letter was written, the brethren La Trobe, Jorde, and others who were witnesses of the fact, were still living.

and Saviour blessed it with his grace and presence, in a manner superior to any which had been previously held in England.

The attachment of the Count's friends in that country was put to no mean test, by the painful circumstances in which he was placed. One after the other of them not only estranged themselves from him, but even became opposed to him; at which, however, the Count was not surprised. The majority, however, conducted themselves as nobly as could possibly have been desired; and these consisted, not only of persons who filled civil offices, but also of men of high rank amongst the clergy.

Amongst others, the Bishop of London sent him, on the 4th of March of that year, a copy of his printed works, with a friendly letter, and an excellent testimony to the doctrine of the atonement by the blood of Christ. The Count immediately read these works completely through, and marked out some of their most excellent passages; sent them the following day to London, and caused them to be read to the congregation there.

The opponents of the Count in England, however, became more and more violent. This induced him to reflect upon the reasons why certain people were so enraged against him, and amongst these he included the following :—

1. That he had yielded too far to those to whom he felt attached; but when he began to fear it might be to their disadvantage, he had forced himself to an opposite line of conduct, and had been too strict with them. By this means, he had turned many of his friends into foes.

2. That he, and other brethren, had exercised too much forbearance, at a time when some extravagant people had put themselves forward, and commenced a variety of strange proceedings. It had been, indeed, thought right to be thus patient; nevertheless it would not have been the case, had it been previously duly considered and perceived, that such like things would be laid to the charge of the whole church. They had, however, now learnt wisdom by the injury which had been sustained.

3. That in reference to the subject of the Trinity, he had employed a theosophical style of writing; in consequence of which, certain of his hymns and sermons had caused more

offence than profit. Every thing now, however, was again concentrated in the Saviour's person and merits.

As little as he was inclined to enter upon a particular reply to the objections against the brethren, at that time, yet he could no longer oppose the wish of the brethren in England, who thought it necessary to publish an answer to them, especially when he saw, that if he did not permit it, there would be no want of those who, without asking him, would take up the cause of the brethren, and sharply reply to their adversaries. Some publications of this kind really appeared, and others were in preparation; when the Count began to be apprehensive lest such apologies, written by those who had not themselves a right insight into the state and connexion of the circumstances, might do more injury than the writings of the opponents themselves. A pamphlet was therefore published, in May 1754, under the title of "Plain Case of the Representatives of the *Unitas Fratrum*;" in which it was historically shown, how the brethren had acted in England since the year 1727, with respect to the erroneous opinions which had been circulated concerning them.

This year the Count also completed the "smaller hymn-book," which was entirely distinct from the one formerly mentioned: for in this, he only took single verses, first from one hymn and then from another, and arranged them according to the subject he had in view. What I have said respecting the singing-meetings, is rendered clear by this hymn-book, which contains nothing but the substance of them.

He also published a new edition of "The Liturgies and Litanies for the Use of the Moravian Churches and their Choirs;" and says in the preface, "When you take this in hand, and appear with it before the Lord, do so with a pure heart, a good conscience, and faith unfeigned. You may thus expect every good thing from him, and he from you."

At the close of this year (1754), the Count asserted, that for thirty years he had not spent one so peacefully, and so free from all entanglements. In another place he describes it, as a calm, liturgical year,—a year of particular intercourse with the Saviour, much experience, many promises, many lessons.

The Lord had bestowed many favours upon the Union in

general, and upon the Count in particular. He had not only faithfully assisted him during the continuance of outward difficulties, and powerfully resisted the intentions of the adversary, but had also given the desired success to his various occupations with reference to the church, the missions, and the settlements. But the most important of all was, the uninterrupted certainty, produced by the operation of the Holy Spirit, of the Saviour's acceptance of him and his undertakings. No day had passed without his having tasted the loving-kindness of the Lord; and this so filled his heart with love and gratitude, and at the same time rendered him so deeply ashamed, that he could not find words enough to thank and praise him.

This also encouraged him so much, that he was able to say, "What have they that are without, to do with us? What have we to care for their projects against us, and their calumnies? They will end in nothing. If we inwardly agree together, and are hidden in his wounds,—if the Saviour is satisfied with the state of our hearts and our conduct,—we have only to believe, that he is more solicitous than we can be concerning our future welfare, and that the respect be shown us which is due to his servants."

The Count continued in England during the first months of the year 1755, and designated it as a period of much arduous occupation. He knew that he should be obliged to reside some years in Holland and Germany, and therefore endeavoured as far as lay in his power to regulate every thing respecting the affairs of the brethren in England. During this period he dispatched his son-in-law, John Von Wattewille, on a visitation to the churches and societies in England and Ireland, as well as nearly thirty of his fellow-labourers to the occupations assigned them. The rest of the brethren and sisters belonging to his household departed in February, the greater part of them to Holland; but he still remained at Lindsey-house, in such seclusion, that few of those who resided in the house knew any thing of his being there. He employed this time, not only in the labours which had reference to England, but also reflected, in the Lord's presence, upon the whole of what was committed

to him, with prayer and supplication for his gracious guidance and powerful assistance.

The sermons preached by the Count in London, from the year 1751 to 1755, were collected in 1756, and published: they form two volumes, and are regarded by some as a continuation of his Berlin discourses. He wrote also a Pastoral Letter, which was afterwards printed under the title of "Statutes, or the General Principles of Practical Christianity, extracted from the New Testament, and designed for the Use of the Congregations in England in Union with the *Unitas Fratrum;* in a Letter from Rev. the Ordinary of the Brethren's Churches."

I have already observed, to what extent the opposition had been carried in England against the Count and the brethren, and the reluctance of the former to notice it publicly, so far as concerned himself. He wished, however, that some pious divine of the Church of England would arrange the objections against him and the brethren, in the form of questions, and lay them before him. A certain learned individual actually undertook the matter; but after having proceeded some length in it, a collection of questions were published in London, to which answers were also expected. These questions, however, were many of them so indecorous, that it would have been improper to have laid them before the Count; yet they were the occasion of a reply, which was published under the title of "An Exposition, or True State, of the Matters objected in England to the People known by the Name of *Unitas Fratrum.*" This pamphlet was written in English by the Count himself.

With respect to the Count's writings, I will only add, on this occasion, that however much they were, at different times, objected to by others, and even by himself, yet they were greatly blessed to those readers who perused them with simplicity of heart. A certain very experienced and intelligent person says, respecting them, "I value the Count's writings very much; nor do I think they need a revision. The first of them please me almost more than the last. If any thing occurs that sounds uncommon, I know how to understand it. And I know to a certainty, that many are of the same opinion."

It is nevertheless true, that the expressions he makes use of

are peculiar, and that they are not all equally simple. Some of them are so obvious, that they are easily understood; others must be read two or three times before the sense is apprehended; and the causes of this are various. He was accustomed to a prolix style, and made many long parentheses, by which the words which belonged together, were often divided far asunder; and this was felt as a difficulty by many readers. He also employed a number of foreign terms, from ancient and modern languages, if he regarded them as more convenient for the elucidation of his ideas than German words. Sometimes he spoke briefly and laconically, according to the character of the people with whom he had to do; and it was then necessary to supply much, in order fully to understand him. At the same time I will not deny, that the fault of his being unintelligible to some, may lie in the readers themselves; for if the subject of which the Count is speaking is new to them, and they have had no experience of it, it is no wonder that the language employed is difficult to be understood.

The Count never ceased correcting and revising his works. "I have the singular habit," says he, "before one of my books leaves the press, frequently to annex, not only a long list of errata, but also to make additional explanatory remarks. I correct every thing that I find incorrect in my productions, as often as I can; and it never vexes me even to contradict myself at different times. *I think the smallest truth is of more value than the reputation of him who propounds it.*" Whoever, therefore, pointed out to him an unsuitable expression, and gave him a better one, was very welcome to him; and when he met with a word or phrase which fully expressed his ideas, he would rejoice like a child.

The Count, during this period, made another collection of three hundred hymns, which he regarded as an appendix to the London hymn-book, and by which he endeavoured to rescue many edifying effusions of the heart from oblivion. He published them in three different sections, the first of which consisted solely of the compositions of the late Count Christian Renatus.

On the 22d of March, the Count took his departure from London, after having had various important interviews with

several men of rank, and other distinguished individuals; and at the same time enjoyed the pleasure of hearing their noble declarations respecting himself and the Moravian church. His residence in England lasted this time three years and a half.

On reaching Harwich, the packet-boat, in which he intended to take his passage, had already set sail. He waited therefore until the departure of the following; and meanwhile took a lodging, where he could prosecute his labours without interruption, and where he wrote, amongst other things, instructions to his fellow-labourers in London. After a very fatiguing voyage, he arrived, on the 31st of March, at Zeist. The next day he saluted the church there, and held a singing-meeting, in which he unfolded his whole heart.

The ministers of the church, and the rest of the brethren and sisters, in turn, attended the meetings which he held there in the house where he resided. A part of his time he devoted to intercourse with those friends and brethren who came to visit him from Amsterdam and Norden in East Friesland; and in this manner spent nearly a month at Zeist.

On the 27th of April, he took leave of the church at that place, and set out for Neuwied. The French settlement there was still small; but he assured them that the Lord, who had planted them, would also bless and increase them. He visited the Count of Neuwied twice, and considered with him, in particular, how the secular pursuits of the brethren might be brought into due connexion with the constitution of the place. On the 4th of May, he proceeded further, and came by way of Neudietendorf to Ebersdorf, and from thence by way of Kleinwelke and Niesky to Herrnhut, where he arrived on the 2d of June.

Having been absent from Upper Lusatia for the space of four years, his visit to Herrnhut was the more acceptable; and the brethren welcomed him and his company with demonstrations of great joy. In July, he was attacked by a disorder, which he regarded as a remains of that with which he had been seized on his visit to the West Indies. Although, at other times, he did not easily suffer indisposition to interfere with his labours, yet now he was obliged to do so frequently, on account of excessive weakness; and this continued, more or less, until

the end of the year. However, when I consider what he did during that period for the good of the church and its several choirs, as well as for individuals, I find that it amounts to more than others are wont to do when in perfect health.

An anonymous minister, in Upper Lusatia, published, during this period, a collection of the Count's discourses to the married people amongst the Moravians, without saying how they came into his hands. I have, however, heard it positively stated, that a brother who had collected them for his own use, lost them not far from Herrnhut, and, when found, they were taken to this clergyman. Be that as it may, the latter's first care ought to have been, how he might restore the manuscript to its rightful owner. He did not, however, think of this, but sent it to the press, without even inquiring of the Count, (who was at that time in Herrnhut,) whether he would consent to its publication. It therefore appeared, and in such a manner, that the numerous errors in the manuscript were increased by a multitude of typographical errata, not to speak of the places which the publisher had been unable to read, and where he had made interpolations which were quite unsuitable.

During the Count's stay at Herrnhut, many of the brethren and sisters, from almost all the different churches, arrived to visit him and converse with him; and he faithfully afforded his counsel to each as far as his strength permitted.

The Count also entered into a very friendly connexion with some Lutheran clergymen in Upper Lusatia, who assembled annually, once or oftener, to converse together upon the administration of the pastoral office. Amongst the topics discussed were, the power of the doctrine of the atonement by Jesus Christ on the hearts of the most hardened and savage of mankind;—the faithfulness which a preacher of the gospel ought to exemplify to the religious denomination to which he is attached, and his willingness to continue and labour in it;—the gathering together of awakened souls, which is nothing else than endeavouring to bring about the fellowship of believers, founded upon the sufferings and death of Christ; and that unity of spirit, for which the Saviour was so solicitous. (John xvii.) The Count, at the same time, reminded them, that a Lutheran minister, who possesses a heartfelt concern for the salvation of his hearers,

must be careful to unite them, in order to have abiding fruit from them. For if those who, by the preaching of the gospel, become believers and are brought to Christ, would become one heart and one soul, consider one another, and incite each other to be faithful to the Saviour and to love all mankind,—the work of God, which had been commenced, might be successfully continued amongst them for many years; but if this were not the case, they might all be scattered, and gradually cool, as soon as another pastor rose up, who was not as faithful and zealous in his office as his predecessor.

During the Count's residence at Herrnhut on this occasion, he found that many hundreds of individuals in Upper Lusatia, both amongst the Wends and Germans, had united together in religious fellowship. The Saviour had granted his blessing to his gospel, which had been preached with power by many of his faithful servants in those parts, and the fruits of it were manifest. These awakened people had, for some time, been in the habit of visiting the church at Herrnhut, in considerable numbers; and not a few of them had there found a blessing for their hearts. The married brethren in Herrnhut took charge of the married people, and the single brethren of the unmarried; whilst the sisters did the same in regard to the females. The chief object in doing this was to induce each of them to establish himself firmly in Christ, and then build properly upon this foundation. At the same time, they were admonished to prove themselves faithful to their church, and obedient and loyal subjects. Instructions were also given them, how to dwell together in love, in places where several of them resided, and avoiding every thing that might cause offence or injury, contribute to each other's edification, as well as be a good example to others.

All this was according to the wish of the Count's own heart; and from that period till his decease, he participated much in these endeavours, which were attended with a real blessing.

In the awakened Wends, who visited Herrnhut in considerable numbers, the Count took a particular pleasure, and conversed in a very kind manner with them. He reminded them of former times, and of their situation thirty years before, when he first interested himself for them, and what the

Saviour had since done for them. He observed, that if we only wait the Lord's time, after sowing in tears we shall reap in joy.

There being many brethren and sisters at that time in Herrnhut, who were acquainted with the English language, the Count afforded himself the gratification of assembling them together in his house, on the 16th of August. Of these, there were upwards of ninety individuals, which will not be thought surprising, when it is recollected that the Count, with his household, had remained almost four years in England, during his last visit to that country; and, in the course of that time, had received many visits from Germany. He conversed with them in a pleasing manner, and recalled to their minds a variety of circumstances which deserved to be remembered. It was also announced that an English meeting would be held every week, when English would be sung, spoken, and intelligence from England read. This arrangement was continued until the following year.

The brethren from Moravia, of whom there were still a tolerable number in Herrnhut, although many of them had been scattered amongst other churches, or sent out as missionaries, constituted another object of the Count's solicitude; and he was desirous of making their vocation of grace appear of renewed importance to them. Hence he proposed that, in the ensuing year, they should hold a conference of their own, and induced the chief of them previously to discuss with each other the subjects to be brought forwards. He was himself present on the occasion, and reminded them of former times, when every Moravian brother believed he owed himself to his Saviour and his neighbour, and was therefore ready and willing to venture his life, as often as an opportunity presented itself of doing something for the Saviour, and for the benefit of mankind, for whom he had shed his blood. But whilst saying this, he would not deny that many a one had entered into these labours, with respect to whom it would have been perhaps better, if they themselves had been first better grounded, and taken deeper root. He also acknowledged, that since that period, the brethren had not only attained more experience, but also a clearer insight into the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. Still he wished that the gracious impulse of

those times, to bear a cheerful testimony to the truth as it is in Jesus, might ever continue connected with the existing grace and gifts, and declared, that no one ought to call himself a Moravian brother, who was not heartily willing to venture his life and every thing else for Jesus's sake.

From the 22d to the 25th of July, he held some important conferences at Taubenheim, respecting the deaconry of the Unity, with the brethren appointed to that office; in which it was resolved to divide the whole economy of the Unity into two parts, one of which was to be transacted in the name of the Count and his family, and the other to be treated as a distinct department.

The Count enforced, on this occasion, the fundamental principles with respect to the wise and faithful administration of the deaconry, and spoke to this end, from suitable texts of Scripture. At the close of the conferences, he thanked the Saviour for the love, peace, and harmony which he had graciously given them to enjoy in them.

At various subsequent conferences, preparatory to a synod of the Church to be held the following year, the subjects discussed at Taubenheim were brought forwards. The regulations respecting the economy of the Unity were made known at a numerous conference, and the two departments above mentioned commenced their operations.

On the 9th of October, the Count left Herrnhut for Barby, where he arrived on the 12th. There existed, at that place, not only the theological seminary, but also the institution for providing the churches with useful and necessary intelligence, respecting all the occurrences in the Unity. Besides this, an academy had been commenced the previous year, for the further instruction of the pupils of the seminary. All these institutions, with the brethren who resided there, as husbandmen or tradesmen, constituted the church at Barby.

The Count did here what he was wont to do in general, at a visitation, and was heartily gratified by the state of the church and its choirs. He not only examined what was taught in the academy, but also the manner in which instruction was conveyed; for which purpose all the lectures were read, at appointed times, in his antechamber. He conferred

with the physicians residing there, upon medical knowledge, and its right use in a church of Jesus Christ, in order, in this respect also, to regulate every thing according to the mind of the Saviour. During his stay at Barby, which lasted scarcely four weeks, he received many visits from awakened individuals residing in the neighbouring districts, and took care to confirm them in their sentiments, and encourage them to renewed faithfulness. He also sent some brethren to visit Abbot Steinmetz, at Closter-Bergen, to the satisfaction of the latter. He returned to Herrnhut in the beginning of November.

He soon after removed to his house at Bertholdsdorf, and renewed the church in his house, but only with as many persons as in reality belonged to it. His object was, that the beautiful passage which served as the watchword for the day, on which they entered, might be fulfilled, "Behold, how good and pleasant it is, when brethren dwell together in unity;" that those who came thither occasionally, or resided a short time with them, might return comforted, edified, and strengthened, to their different stations and labours. Hence he besought the members of his household to unite together anew in the mind and spirit of Jesus; God would then give them grace, to grow up in all things unto him, who is the head.

He arranged his meetings in such a manner, that neither attendance at the church at Bertholdsdorf, nor the Sunday meeting at Herrnhut, should be interfered with. He went frequently himself to Herrnhut, held meetings there, and spoke to the children especially, in a very child-like and artless manner; the teachers and choir-leaders of the church at Herrnhut also came often to Bertholdsdorf, and were in the habit, generally, of attending his love-feasts.

On Christmas-eve he took a great pleasure in assembling all the pious people in Bertholdsdorf, together with their clergyman, at his house, and celebrating with them the remembrance of the nativity. He recurred to the meeting which had been held thirty years before, in the same saloon, with a small number, whilst now he saw before him nearly two hundred individuals, who were mutually able to rejoice in God their Saviour; and this occasioned him indescribable pleasure and thankfulness.

In the customary vigils at the end of the year, he described it as having been a blessed year to him, although the commencement of it had been painful. He kindly exhorted his fellow-labourers to resign themselves in filial obedience to the Lord and his guidance, and closed the year with a hymn of thanksgiving and praise.

The critical circumstances in which many of the churches of the brethren were placed in the year 1756, on account of the war, both in Europe and America, caused the Count much solicitude.

Before the close of the previous year, the Indians, who dwelt behind the English provinces in North America, had made irruptions into them in several places, destroyed many people, and burnt many houses. The brethren, from the time of their coming thither, had interested themselves on behalf of the Indians, and established missions amongst them; and a congregation of converted Indians, with the consent of the government, resided with them on a piece of land bought for that purpose. These circumstances caused suspicions to be excited against the brethren, and they were accused of having intercourse with the Indians, who were hostile to the English. This went so far, that not only Pennsylvania and the neighbouring provinces, but even England itself, was filled with these reports, by which the minds of many were imbittered. Besides this, a letter was inserted in the newspapers, said to have been written by a Frenchman, in which it was expressly stated, that the brethren were in close connexion with the Indians and the French, with whom the English were at war. Although sensible people easily perceived that this was a letter fabricated either by foolish or wicked persons, it so enraged the people in all parts against the brethren, that they were in danger of their lives on the public roads. Being myself in America at that time, I was threatened by an innkeeper, at whose house I had stopped for a short time, that he would make an end of me on the spot, with a club. He had the newspaper above mentioned in his hand, and on my endeavouring to appease

him, said, in a great rage, if it were not true what was here said of the brethren, it would certainly not have been printed.

Just at this time, the hostile Indians fell upon the missionary brethren and sisters, who resided at the Mahony, and made a dreadful slaughter of them. The assailants had previously reconnoitred the premises, and surrounded the house just at supper-time. On some one opening the door, they fired into the house and killed several; and when the rest ran up stairs into the loft, they set the house on fire, and burnt it, together with the barns, stables, cattle, &c. Eleven individuals lost their lives on this occasion; the rest, who escaped from the hands of the murderers, fled to Bethlehem, where the entire congregation of the Indians took refuge, and were protected, not only by the brethren, but also by the government of the province.

This event at once convinced the whole country, that the brethren had been falsely accused of an alliance with the hostile Indians; and this, many of their previous opponents acknowledged and confessed: especially when the brethren came to seek out the bodies of the sufferers, which lay under the ruins of the houses on the Mahony, and to inter them, a great many people assembled as spectators, and publickly expressed their regret, some even with tears, for having sinned against the brethren, by falsely accusing them. Many also came afterwards to Bethlehem, and entreated forgiveness of the brethren.

But a peculiar set of men, who stupidly imagined that the Indians must be rooted out, in order to avoid incurring the wrath of God, like the Israelites, for not extirpating the Canaanites, were greatly enraged against the church at Bethlehem, because they had given the Indians a kind reception, and provided for them. They were, therefore, under two-fold apprehension—from the people just mentioned, and the hostile Indians, by whom they, day and night, expected to be attacked.

The first intelligence of these events in America did not reach the Count until the receipt of letters written some weeks after: in informing the church at Herrnhut, on the 6th of February

of the mournful event at the Mahony, he was, therefore, able, at the same time, to alleviate the grief thus excited, by the consoling assurance, that no spiritual injury had been sustained in consequence by the American churches; but that, on the contrary, they had felt excited anew to filial dependence on the Lord Jesus, and to faithful perseverance in his service. The church was also greatly comforted respecting the brethren and sisters who had been slain by the Indians, because the superintendent of the church at Bethlehem, who had visited them only two days before, and had spoken with each in particular on the state of their hearts, had given the pleasing assurance in his letter, that all of them heartily loved the Saviour, and filially resigned themselves to him.

The Count felt assured, that the Lord Jesus Christ had permitted the above-mentioned occurrence for wise though inscrutable purposes. The brethren had never done any injury to the Indians, but had been of service to them, on every occasion, to the best of their ability. The latter, however, as I am well aware, were embittered against them, because they wished the converted Indians, who dwelt on the lands of the brethren, to take part with them in the war; whilst the brethren, as faithful English subjects, were opposed to it. The Count wished, in particular, that none of the murderers of the brethren and sisters might die before they had heard and received the gospel of Jesus Christ. He commended the churches of the brethren in North America, which continued in such imminent peril, to the prayers of the church, in the most impressive manner. He also sent fifteen brethren, who expressed their willingness to go thither, immediately to America, to be a help, or at least a consolation to them. He likewise made arrangements for pecuniary contributions from the different churches, for their relief in their destitute circumstances; since they had not only to provide for themselves, but also for several hundreds of their poor neighbours, who, with their families, had taken refuge with them. In other respects, he maintained that the brethren had nothing to fear; for, certainly, not a hair could fall from their heads without the knowledge of their heavenly Father; and that whenever he sent his children afflictions, they were always beneficial to them.

The Count also regarded, with similar sentiments, the war which broke out in Saxony, in the latter half of the year 1756, and which, as is well known, continued for several years, accompanied by many afflictive circumstances. He took it for granted, that it would not have arisen if the Lord had not permitted it; and that its results and consequences could not extend further than the Lord, in his wisdom, saw fit. Hence, he took the resolution boldly to proceed with the work committed to him, and suffer nothing, as far as it lay in his power, to interrupt it: he likewise exhorted his fellow-labourers to do the same. But although he carried this resolution into effect, and really laboured much during the war, yet it was not always without hinderance and disturbance. Hence he observes, in one of his discourses, "He that has not experienced what disturbance is, cannot imagine to himself the happiness of uninterruptedly serving the Lord in continued tranquillity: but he that has experienced it, and been unable to devote a single day to any particular purpose, in consequence of inward and outward disturbance, knows the value of the promise, 'The Lord your God will give you rest.'"

He faithfully warned the churches not to lose sight of their aim, and trusted, at the same time, in God, that he would take them into his protection; which was also the case: for although almost all the commanding officers had heard or read so much against the brethren, that they were either opposed to them, or thought very contemptibly of them, yet their sentiments afterwards underwent a wonderful change. They took the trouble to make thorough inquiry, and to investigate every thing themselves, and had frequent opportunities of inspecting the Moravian settlements and their regulations, and of becoming acquainted with the brethren in their daily deportment. In this manner, the erroneous ideas which had been infused into them, vanished to such a degree, that from that time they omitted nothing, with respect to the Moravian churches, that could be expected from worthy and noble-minded officers in times of war. The churches, in return, faithfully commended them to God in prayer, and rendered him abundant thanks for what he had done for them in that respect.

The Count had, from his youth up, accustomed himself to

a filial intercourse with the Saviour; and because he found in it every thing that his soul could desire, he wished to induce all whom he loved to enter upon the practice of it.

He took it for granted, that all men ought to honour the Son, as they honour the Father; according to the obvious words of Christ (John v. 23): for he was "the mighty God, the everlasting Father," the creator and preserver of all things, and the judge of all the world. Mankind had also a peculiar right to him, because he had become a real man and our brother; and because he had taken our sins upon him, paid our debts, endured our punishment, shed his blood for us, and yielded himself up to death for us. All this he had done and suffered, in order to gather a church out of our sinful race, which he loved as his bride, and would make a partaker of all his felicity and all his glory.

It was therefore his belief, that the Saviour was not satisfied when poor sinners, who, by faith in him, had become children of God, only adored him with the deepest reverence, but that he also desired to be tenderly and ardently loved by them: hence he was so condescending, that he associated, in the kindest manner, with the souls of those who clave to him. The precious names given him in the Scriptures, where he is called our friend, brother, and bridegroom, clearly pointed out, that it gave him peculiar joy to act as a man with mankind, and to induce them to converse with him in an artless and child-like manner.

In order to make this apparent to the members of the church, the Count went through the Old and New Testaments, quoted all the passages which speak of God's friendly, kind, and gracious intercourse with man, compared and confirmed the one with the other, and founded upon them the unwearied exhortation to the brethren and sisters, to maintain a confidential intercourse with the Saviour, who has given us his word that he will be with us, even to the end of the world. "Nothing," he said, "ought to be so valuable to them as the consciousness, that he was always near them, that they could tell him every thing, and that he himself could look into their hearts. They ought to regard and listen to him above all things; and believe, to a certainty, that he alone was their

best, and dearest, and most faithful friend. He ought to be their first thought, when they awoke in the morning; they ought to spend the whole day in his presence, bring all their complaints before him, expect all assistance from him, conclude their labours with him, and in his company retire to rest."

In the hymns and sermons of the Count, there are many expressions relative to this cordial intercourse of converted sinners with their Saviour, at which some persons take offence, regarding it as improper to converse so confidentially with him. Now, though I will not undertake to defend every expression he has used, yet this I know, that the sinful woman, who lay at Jesus's feet, bedewing them with her tears, and wiping them with her hair, pleased him better than the cold-hearted Pharisee. The flame of love in the heart of an individual who has found mercy, together with its manifestations and results, is best known to the Saviour, and he alone can properly judge of it.

The Count resided at Bertholdsdorf from the beginning of this year till the end of August, and was very thankful to the Saviour for the work of grace which he had commenced there amongst the brethren thirty years before, and which had now extended itself with such blessed effects to many, both heathens and Christians. The number of awakened individuals who dwelt there, and were connected together in christian fellowship, continually increased, and the Count permitted them to attend his domestic meetings once a week: he also afforded all the inhabitants of the place an opportunity of hearing him in his house, and preached to them in a very heartfelt and successful manner. These meetings were so numerously attended, that there was not sufficient room for the auditory, who assembled, not from curiosity, but with an anxious desire to hear the gospel, of which there were many proofs. Amongst the children of the place, and especially the boys, a beneficial and obvious effect was produced.

In the beginning of September, the Count removed to Great Hennersdorf, to which living the Rev. Burghard George Müller had been recently inducted, and the Count rejoiced to find there this servant of Jesus, who preached the gospel with much success. He had also the pleasure of observing, that a

work of grace had commenced amongst the children in the seminary, which had been removed thither from Niesky. He therefore devoted part of his attention to that institution, suffered the youths to attend his meetings, addressed them separately, and had reason to hope, that in due time the Saviour would select from amongst them those, who should preach the gospel of his salvation to all the world; and this hope did not remain unfulfilled.

In October, he again undertook a journey to Barby; the chief object of which was, to inspect the academy there, in which the youths, who had been in the seminary, received further instruction. He regarded it as an institution which, notwithstanding its deficiencies—which he did not deny—would be rendered beneficial to the cause of Christ; and because he was desirous that every member of it should be employed in that department for which he was best fitted, he endeavoured to make himself, as much as possible, acquainted with each of them, according to the gift and grace inherent in him. To this end, he not only gave them opportunities for social intercourse with him, but induced them also to explain their state to him in writing; which they did with much candour. In an address to the seminary, on the 23d of November, he copiously expressed his sentiments on the subject of their studies. Amongst other things, he expressly reminded them, that the object of the institution was to train up individuals to become partakers in the work which the Lord had committed to the church of the brethren. They ought, therefore, to employ the short space of time allotted them, in learning those things which would be of use to them in the service of the Saviour and his church, and abstain from the acquisition of that which served no other purpose than to enable the individual to say, he was acquainted with it.

In the middle of December, he returned to Upper Lusatia, and, with the exception of a visit to Niesky, remained at Herrnhut, until the close of the year, in a very retired manner.

But before closing the history of the year 1756, I must mention the synodal conference of the Moravian section of the Union, resolved upon during the previous year. I have already stated that the Count's intention in holding it was to

remind them of their vocation of grace, and what the Lord and his servants expected from them. The elders, bishops, preachers, and teachers, (who were Moravians by birth,) assembled therefore on the 25th of April, when the Count opened this synodal conference with an appropriate address. It closed on the 14th of May, after establishing the following points:—

1. That they had not to rely upon their birth as Moravians, but upon the grace of God in Christ Jesus, which had appeared unto and operated in them.

2. That their vocation to be the Saviour's witnesses, both amongst heathens and Christians, and to venture every thing for his sake, should be always kept in view, and that for this purpose it was requisite they should prepare themselves by a constant renewal of their covenant.

3. That it was therefore necessary they should abstain from those things which might involve them in any thing contrary to this vocation, and hinder them, in the sequel, from serving the Saviour's cause, when, where, and in whatever manner he pleased.

4. That as in the present time, many, even of the clergy, had departed from the truth of the gospel, and had erred in its principal points, the Moravian brethren, like other faithful witnesses of Jesus Christ, ought to adhere so much the more closely to the divine truths revealed for our salvation, and boldly confess them at the hazard of their lives.

The Count having left it to the consideration of the Moravian brethren, whether they did not find sufficient reason to make their own peculiar regulations: they declared in reply, that they and the rest of the Moravians did not wish to be or constitute a separate confession or a peculiar constitution in the Union. They were connected with many other children of God, from whom they did not desire to separate themselves even in appearance, by a constitution merely of a national character. They were therefore willing to abide by the existing regulations, particularly as many of them were scattered abroad, not only in the churches of the brethren, but also amongst heathens and Christians, and for the most part in the service of the Saviour.

In this union of a part of the ancient church of the brethren, with the other parts of the Union, which constitute the Lutheran and Reformed sections in it, the Count was, however, assiduously careful to place in a perspicuous light the difference between them and the relation in which they stood towards each other, and to convince them of the necessity of it, in order that the Moravians might not be confounded with those of the Lutheran confession, nor be regarded as one and the same.

The Count felt very desirous of promoting the spiritual progress of the widowed sisters, and of being, according to the expression of Job, "the eye of the widow." Hence he held particular conferences with those widows at Herrnhut, and amongst the Silesian churches, who were appointed to superintend the outward circumstances or inward progress of their several choirs; in which it was discussed, how one that was a widow indeed, might be usefully employed in the church of Christ. The Count wished that not only some amongst them, but the whole choir, might become burning and shining lights in the church, and be employed as they were during the times of the Apostles.

The Count then endeavoured to become minutely acquainted with all the widows in Herrnhut, for which purpose each of them wrote him a letter respecting her spiritual state. After conversing with them individually upon it, he stated, that though there were a few of them who were not sufficiently humbled under a sense of their sinfulness, yet the spirit which pervaded them, and their state on the whole, had afforded him satisfaction.

The conferences with the female assistants of the single sisters began at Bertholdsdorf about the middle of May, and closed with the beginning of June: sisters from several of the churches were present at them. It was thankfully acknowledged, that since the conferences of the past year, much had been placed in a more perspicuous light, and that they had become more unanimous, with respect to the principles on which the discipline of the choir depended.

When the new choir-house of the single sisters at Herrnhut, which was completed this year, was entered upon, the Count,

who for ten years had devoted much attention to it, took particular interest in its progress, gave the choir his blessing on entering it, and entreated the Saviour that the work of the Holy Spirit might be continued uninterruptedly amongst its inmates, and that many true followers of the Lamb might be trained up in it.

The synod of the Unity, for which preparations had been made the previous year, was opened by the Count on Ascension-day. Certain persons were nominated to furnish a written statement of each of the subjects in its true bearings, which required the consideration of the synod. On the 18th of June, the first six sessions terminated, some of which had continued until late at night.

On the 19th of June, the Count's beloved consort, who had attended the first sessions of the synod, finished her praiseworthy course, and fell asleep, without any particular or painful illness. Not only the church in Herrnhut, but also all that were present, participated in this event so deeply, that there was scarcely an individual whose eyes were not filled with tears. But no one was so much affected as the Count himself; for he best knew what an helpmate she had been to him for the last thirty-four years: yet however deeply he felt her loss, he was obliged to comfort others. He could not object to the many tears which were shed from heartfelt affection, deserved esteem, and dutiful gratitude; since our Lord Jesus Christ had wept at the grave of Lazarus, and those who saw him weep inferred from it, that he must have loved him much. He reminded them, however, that the Saviour, who certainly took into due consideration what was useful and necessary for his church, had himself made this breach, and taken her to himself.

On the 25th of June, the remains of this handmaid of the Lord were interred in the burial-ground of the church at Herrnhut, of which she had been a faithful member. The funeral procession was solemn, and the attendance very numerous.

The Count, after this event, spent a few days at Great Hennersdorf in retirement: he then returned to Bertholdsdorf, recommenced the synod, and proceeded with it so far, that, on the 5th of July, he was able to close it with an address, reca-

pitulating all the points which had been agreed upon, as well as what had occurred since the previous synod, and showing at the same time what remained to be attended to.

At the close of this synod, there were several ordinations, as well as admissions to church-membership, and finally, the whole of its members partook of the holy communion.

When the synod was ended, the Count had still much to discuss with brethren who were returning to their several stations: besides which, various conferences were held respecting North America, whither Peter Boehler was on the point of returning. That country was still in a very disturbed state, on account of the hostilities with the Indians: the voyage to America was also not without danger, in consequence of France and England being at war, and the English merchantmen being in danger from the French privateers and other armed vessels. The brethren, however, who were destined for that country, did not suffer themselves to be deterred by these considerations, and in the beginning of August they took their departure, after receiving the benediction of the church.

Previous to the holding of the synod, brother Hokker, who, as we have already noticed, had returned from his first voyage to Egypt, proceeded again to Cairo, accompanied by brother George Pilder. The Count felt induced to write again to the patriarch of the Copts, from whom he had received a friendly answer; the more so, as Hokker assured him that he was a man whom he loved, and whom all the brethren ought to love.

He wrote also, by this opportunity, to the Abuna of Abyssinia, stating that he had felt induced to do so, in consequence of his friendship with the patriarch of the Copts.

On the 30th of July, a funeral sermon was preached for the Countess, in the church at Bertholdsdorf, by the Rev. Mr. Müller. She was a person of uncommon gifts and grace, and her laudable qualities will ever be remembered by all who became acquainted with her. She was descended from a family that honoured the word of God, and loved and esteemed the children of God and the servants of Jesus, even when scorned by the world. She was well versed in the Holy Scriptures, and held the divine truths, on which our faith and walk are founded, in admirable connexion: she also possessed

a knowledge of other sciences. She was weak in body, but of strong mind and understanding, and yet possessed, at the same time, childlike simplicity. Her ideas were profound, and yet very animated. Her speech and phraseology in writing were as measured as they were impressive, and full of unction. She distinguished herself in company, and yet was condescending to every one. In circumstances of difficulty, she was bold and courageous, and particularly happy in giving advice. In her domestic management, she was very sparing and economical; but when the Saviour's cause required it, she was willing and ready to do, not only according to, but even beyond her ability. She was able wisely to connect the past with the present, and to draw from thence inferences respecting the future, which were generally verified: in short, she was a princess of God among her people, in a patriarchal sense, since she was in reality a blessing to them. Towards the afflicted and distressed, she exercised a maternal compassion, and provided for the least as well as the greatest; so that she well deserved the name of Mother, which was familiarly given her. Her servants and dependants, however, always showed her due respect. But the most valuable thing that can be said of her was, that her heart adhered to the Saviour with a very tender affection, and that she spent her most pleasing seasons in filial and confidential intercourse with him.

The kindness, wisdom, and faithfulness of God our Saviour, manifested itself in an especial manner towards the Count, in giving him such a helpmate. She seemed altogether indispensable to him for the attainment of the object which the Lord had in view with him.

She was not made to be a copy, but an original; and although she cordially loved and esteemed the Count, yet she thought for herself, upon every subject, with so much good sense, that he could treat her as a sister and a friend, and really did so.

She not only divested the Count of the burden of domestic and manorial affairs, but she was also a faithful, wise, and useful helpmate in things which he regarded as the objects of his peculiar vocation. The Lord was with her, and blessed

her endeavours, when she undertook any thing for the benefit of the church.

Towards her children she manifested herself as a tender, careful, sensible, and unweariedly faithful mother.

Sometimes she caused herself painful hours, by unnecessary anxiety, which afterwards, when the clouds dispersed, and she saw the thing in a clear light, she herself confessed, and was ashamed of it.

She could not forget the loss of her son, Christian Renatus, who finished his course in the year 1752; and, from that period, had no longer much inclination for occupying herself with outward affairs, but was like a weary pilgrim who longs for repose.

From her hymns, many of which have been published, it is evident that our Lord Jesus Christ, and his blood which was shed for the forgiveness of sins, were the sole basis on which she built her hopes of salvation. The doctrine of the atonement affected not merely her understanding, but also her heart, whence emanated her desire to serve the Saviour, and to be acceptable to him. She now lives in the uninterrupted and perfect enjoyment of that which he purchased for her by his sufferings and death.

On the 31st of July, of the same year, her eldest daughter, Henrietta Benigna Justina, received homage on succeeding to the possession of Upper, Middle, and Lower Bertholdsdorf. This was done by the whole of the tenantry, and those who were under the protection of the lord of the manor, in the presence of several noblemen connected with the Moravian church, and other friends and brethren: but previously the Count addressed the villagers, and reminded them of their homage to him thirty-five years before. At that time, as now also, their temporal and eternal welfare was the wish and desire of his heart; and he was now able to thank the Lord, for having manifested himself so graciously, not only at Bertholdsdorf, but also in many of the neighbouring places.

The Count now reflected, how he might best profit by the circumstances in which God had placed him by calling away his consort. He set apart a certain time to survey, in the presence of the Saviour, the thirty-four years which he had

spent in the marriage-state. The Divine favour which he had experienced during this period caused him deep abasement. But he was still more grieved by the faults which he detected in himself: for although he felt conscious of having lived in the marriage-state with all fidelity, yet he was not, on that account, satisfied with himself, because he thought he had not attained to many things, which might reasonably be expected from one who conforms himself in this state of life to the mind of Christ. He lamented over this with many tears, in the presence of the Saviour, and requested his full forgiveness; and as he gladly showed himself to his confidential friends, such as he was, he spoke with them very candidly concerning these faults.

With regard to his literary labours in 1756, besides the daily practical and doctrinal texts for the ensuing year, he also made other selections of texts for the use of the churches; and of passages from the hymns of his son, for the use of the children, of which they were particularly fond; and lastly, a similar collection of passages, concerning the Holy Spirit, for daily use. In this book he refers to the Holy Spirit what is said in the Old Testament concerning Wisdom, which was from the beginning, before the creation of the world, and which is usually applied to Christ.

It does not appear that, in 1756, he published any thing of a controversial nature: but, when occasion required, he did not omit to explain himself upon many points in the church, respecting which he was apprehensive of evil consequences.

He could not endure to hear it said of him, by any of the brethren, that he was indispensable to the church, and that if he were removed he could never be replaced; and he often told them that they ought not to think so. No one was indispensable but the Saviour. He was compelled indeed to confess, that there had been brethren and sisters in the church who had something quite distinct from others in their manner and usefulness, and when such individuals were taken away, it was evidently seen, for years afterwards, that they were wanting. But the Saviour, who has the best interest of his church more at heart than any of his children and servants, either leaves them as long as their services are necessary, or

so arranges it that no material injury shall arise from their being called away; and thus it would be also with respect to himself.

He was, however, anxious that the number of his fellow-labourers should be increased: he therefore recommended, that every office should be doubly filled, so that when one was removed, another might immediately occupy his place.

Respecting the missions of the brethren amongst the heathen, which had commenced twenty-five years before, he showed how their success was to be ascribed to God alone, and not in the least to man; since those whom God had made use of for that purpose, were mostly unlearned and inexperienced people; and that if all the circumstances of the case were taken into consideration, we should be perfectly convinced that their labour would have been in vain, if God had not powerfully cooperated with them.

The Count ended the year with the church at Herrnhut, which thus expresses itself on the occasion:—"We thus bring this blessed year to a close, in which the protection of our heavenly Father, in a time of brief but great terror, which befell the whole country and us with it, was visibly extended over us, and during which his bountiful hand graciously provided for and assisted us in circumstances of outward difficulty, in which our Lord and Saviour, by his presence, comforted and rejoiced us, and the Holy Spirit carried on his work amongst us."

Finally, the Count partook of the holy sacrament with the church, and rejoiced in the Lord, who died for us, and shed his blood for the remission of our sins.

CHAPTER VII.

PROTECTION EXPERIENCED DURING THE WAR—EPISCOPAL VISITATIONS—SECOND MARRIAGE—JOURNEY TO SWITZERLAND—ILLNESS AT EBERSDORF—RETURN TO HERRNHUT — OFFICIAL LABOURS — JOURNEY TO HOLLAND—SENDING FORTH OF MISSIONARIES—CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE PATRIARCH OF THE COPTS — VISIT TO NEUWIED — RETURN TO HERRNHUT—SICKNESS AND DEATH—HIS CHARACTER.

THE flames of war continued to burn, both in Europe and America, by which the communications were frequently interrupted. The brethren had, however, reason to thank God that an entire stop was not put to their correspondence, and that their letters, though sometimes opened and detained, always arrived at their destination; and when the brethren, in their necessary journeys, had to pass through places occupied by the troops, no impediment was laid in their way.

The armies were encamped, in the year 1757, so near Herrnhut, that on one occasion there were nearly two hundred thousand men in that district; and few days passed over without the place being visited by considerable numbers. The case was the same, in some respects, with the other churches of the brethren, by which means they became well known. The troops that passed through contributed also to this; and on these occasions, the brethren frequently had opportunity of becoming unexpectedly acquainted with individuals who were concerned for their salvation, and conversing confidentially with them upon the subject. With all this, the brethren experienced many of the calamities which are unavoidable in times of war: but they waited, in confidence in God, the result of the matter, and pursued their ordinary course. The Count resided in Upper Lusatia during the most dangerous part of the time, and continued his labours. He

refused, however, all visits which might have caused a loss of time, (which was now so precious to him,) and insisted upon it, that in his house as little as possible should be said concerning the events of the war.

Before proceeding to relate the Count's labours in the church this year, I will point out some things which he always kept in view, and respecting which he expressed himself particularly at this period.

1. He was very anxious that no one should suffer the operations of the Holy Spirit on his heart to pass over without profiting by them, for this might be attended with the most unhappy consequences. At the same time, he reminded the brethren, that they ought duly to watch the period when the Holy Spirit thus operates on a soul. If they did this, they might be the cause of abiding fruit; but if the people were pressed with urgent admonitions, before the Saviour's hour was come, the labour might not only be in vain, but frequently prove injurious. They ought not, however, to be negligent on that account, but follow up the matter constantly in their minds; adding, "thus it frequently happened to me, that it was only after the lapse of some years that I was able to say I had succeeded."

2. There being always people whose suitability for employment is not immediately observed, he proposed that such characters should be sought out and called into action, especially if they were timid and preferred concealment. From this measure he expected an increase of labourers in the Lord's service; and added, "I have often examined whence it is, that I gladly give a preference to some particular person, and bring forward individuals, on whom no one would have reflected. I then found that it proceeded from the consideration, that the Saviour had done so much for me; and if I paid no attention to my brethren and sisters, I should be ashamed of myself, and it would not only occur to me what the Saviour says, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,' but I should also regard myself as an extremely ungrateful man."

3. At the time of the chastisement which came upon the church, and which had chiefly reference to himself, he regarded

it as the best to suffer and be silent. But after the chastisement had been endured, and was over, he did not wish that the subject should be buried, but thought it necessary often to relate its history and its causes, and especially place those circumstances in it which did not immediately strike the eye, in their proper light: for the remembrance of the chastisements of the Lord ought not only to humble us in the dust, but also serve as a warning for the future.

He held in January, 1757, a conference of considerable length with his fellow-labourers at Bertholdsdorf; and travelled on the 25th to Niesky, after delivering an address to the young females at Herrnhut.

From Niesky he proceeded, after addressing the several choirs, to Barby, where he arrived on the 1st of February, and remained till the 9th of March; the greatest part of which time he spent in retirement, in order to go through the archives, and notice every thing that had occurred during the last thirty-four years. He did not, however, attend merely to what was done, but also to what might and ought to have been done. Being anxious to finish this labour in the time he had allotted for it, he worked at it night and day: he also went through several of the works of the ancient fathers, in order to search for the liturgies contained in them. He would have been glad to have met with more upon the merits and sufferings of Jesus, from whence he deduced every thing that is salutary both for body and soul; yet still it gratified him to meet so often, in the liturgies of the Greeks and Copts, with the expressions, "Thou lover of mankind! Thou friend of man!" and to see, at the same time, how frequently the Eastern church referred to the incarnation of Christ.

Before his departure, he devoted some days to the Academy. He afforded the brethren in it an opportunity of communicating with him individually respecting their state, then visited them, and conversed with them, to their no small gratification. After having preached several discourses to them in particular, and to the church in general, he set out for Ebersdorf with John Von Wattewille—who had arrived not long before at Barby, with others of the brethren and sisters—and reached that place on the 12th of March.

The church at Ebersdorf were much rejoiced at this visit, and he was anxious that it should be rendered profitable to them. Scarcely a day passed in which he did not deliver an address; and he held many useful conferences with the office-bearers of the church. However, he still kept himself very retired, and the greater part of the ministerial labour devolved upon John Von Wattewille.

After an agreeable visit on both sides, the Count took his departure for Upper Lusatia on the 19th of April. On arriving at Meissen, he learnt that the troops, which had been quartered in that neighbourhood as well as in the vicinity of Herrnhut, had all marched off: he then continued his journey, and on the 25th reached Herrnhut, which was rejoicing in the tranquillity that had been once more restored to it.

During his stay there, which lasted only about a fortnight, he received the pleasing intelligence that the *Irene*, which had sailed from New York in March, had safely arrived in London in the beginning of April. This vessel brought him letters from the churches in North America, with favourable accounts of their situation, notwithstanding the continuance of the war with the savages; and soon after one of the brethren, named Nathaniel Seidel, arrived, on a visit to the churches in Europe, and gave him information on every point. The *Irene* was the first vessel which had arrived in London that year from New York; four others, which had set sail before her, had been captured by the French, and a fifth had been obliged to put back, in consequence of the damage it had sustained.

Immediately after the celebration of the 12th of May, which had been rendered memorable by a variety of remarkable occurrences, the Count set out for Silesia, accompanied by Leonard Dober and John Von Wattewille. He took Niesky in his way to Gnadenberg, at which latter place the sacrament was administered the day following; and the next morning early, he preached a sermon from the words, "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed;" at which, besides the congregation at Gnadenberg, many attended from a distance. The first stone of a new choir-house for the single brethren was laid, in the presence of the Count, who

pronounced his benediction on the intended building. After delivering a homiletical address to the choir, he travelled to Gnadenfrey, where he arrived on the 17th of May, after an absence of ten years. He faithfully devoted the short time he was able to spend there, to the church and its respective choirs; and on the 19th, laboured amongst them from three o'clock in the afternoon till midnight. On the 20th, after taking an affectionate leave, he again set out, and arrived on the 22d in Neusalz, to the great joy of the church in that place, and especially of those of its members who had not previously seen him.

Being able to stay only a short time with them on this occasion, he did not enter into all the particulars which he was wont to do in other visitations, but only inspected every thing; and after preaching to the church, he severally addressed the different choirs, and commenced his return on the 24th.

On arriving at Niesky, he consented to be present at a love-feast, instituted for the celebration of his birth-day, and then went to Herrnhut, where he spent that day in retirement, whilst the church remembered him before God with praise and thanksgiving.

The Count devoted the month of June and beginning of July to synodal conferences; but before I say any thing respecting them, I must briefly point out the circumstances in which the Unity was at that time placed. During the calamities of the war, in which the greater part of Europe was involved, and which also affected the churches of the brethren, they comforted and edified each other with the word of the gospel, and always found much cause for thankfulness and gratitude to God. The Count had hitherto diligently pointed out and impressed upon each of the choirs, the divine truths which had peculiar reference to them. The period of sifting, with which so many congregations had been visited, was indeed past, but the Count continued to bring it to their remembrance, and thought they had reason always to be upon their guard against the extravagances which had occasioned it. The hostility of many individuals, who sought the ruin of the brethren, had lost its sting, and the latter began to be esteemed by their neighbours. Numbers became

disgusted with the continued controversial attacks upon the brethren, because they found them the opposite to that of which they were accused. Those of the Count's antagonists, whom he looked upon as truly pious, had gradually become the weaker party, having injured themselves by offering resistance to the brethren: but amongst the latter themselves, and especially amongst their ministering servants, many misunderstandings prevailed, which required to be removed. There were also things not conformable to the doctrine of Jesus, against which it was requisite to proceed unanimously. In other respects, an open door had been set before the brethren amongst the heathen, and their labours were successful both amongst the savages and the negro slaves. The Count no longer found cause to complain that the brethren were too fond of making proselytes; but he bore them witness, that they heartily rejoiced over many thousand souls, both amongst the Lutherans and the Reformed, who cordially received and cherished the gospel of Christ. The church in the Count's house, since the decease of the Countess, had, for the most part, separated; which was deplored by many, because they believed (they thought with reason) that his house was a seminary for labourers in the Lord's vineyard. With respect to secular affairs, it had been arranged, that the missions, as well as the institutions for the education of youth, should each have a separate deaconry; besides which, a committee was appointed for the administration of the secular affairs of the Unity in general. These deaconries were already in satisfactory operation, but required, from time to time, a good superintendence, as well as occasional improvements.

All these points were deliberated upon in the conferences. The Count's "Eventual Testament," as it was called, was also revised, and many explanatory remarks were added.

The appointment of a committee of intelligent, experienced, and faithful brethren, to superintend the direction of secular affairs, and especially of the several deaconries above mentioned, must be particularly noticed.

This Committee accordingly took in hand the affairs intrusted to its management, and transacted them with so much diligence, that order was increasingly restored. It continued

its labours, even after the Count's decease, until the year 1764, when a new regulation was made by the synod at Marienborn.

In the month of June, the Count had been already one year a widower, during which he had withdrawn himself from many occupations which might otherwise have been undertaken. Though the disturbances occasioned by the war served, in some measure, as his excuse, yet his personal circumstances, and particularly his being a widower, was to blame for it. Now as besides his immediate fellow-labourers, many of the brethren and sisters wished he would again take full charge, not only of the churches and their choirs in general, but also of their individual members, both with respect to their establishment and their growth in grace, as well as their future employment,—the Count himself thought he was no longer at liberty to continue in his frequent inactivity. The conference also saw, that many desirable regulations could not well be carried into effect, if the Count remained a widower.

The Count's immediate friends having advised him to a speedy marriage, and he himself regarding it as necessary from the circumstances above mentioned, it was obvious to him that, for the attainment of the objects in view, he could make choice of no other person than Anna Nitschman, whom we have so frequently mentioned: for, besides having been appointed, twenty-seven years before, the female elder of the church, which office she had faithfully filled until her voyage to America, she had been, since her return, the Count's next associate, with regard to the pastoral labours amongst the sisters. These reasons, and a certain inward conviction that it was according to the Saviour's will, and would tend to the promotion of his cause, induced the Count to make choice of her, in preference to any other, as his consort.

The objections against her, on account of her parentage, would have had due weight with him had he been desirous of being regarded by the world as a person of rank. But after having detached himself from all worldly connexions, and wishing now to appear merely as a disciple of Christ and a minister of the church, he had more regard to his vocation, than to what is customary amongst persons of rank.

There being, therefore, nothing in the way of this affair, and so many arguments in favour of it, the Count fixed the 27th of June (1757), for his union with Anna Nitschman. The marriage took place in his house at Bertholdsdorf, in the presence of his immediate friends.

After some time had elapsed, he thought it proper to address a letter to the whole of the churches of the brethren, informing them of his marriage, and the motives which induced him to it; at the same time requesting their benediction, and assuring them, that he himself and his consort would endeavour to serve them with their whole hearts.

The Count spent the next two months at Bertholdsdorf, and laboured diligently at several things. As he always remained at his work until a late hour in the night, the question was frequently asked, whether he could not alter this practice? But he declared that, for the time, it was impossible; and that he must be content with the inconvenience, as well as the unwonted hours of labour; and that it would be an injury to the church, if its ministers should study their own convenience, when circumstances required the contrary.

He was sincerely grateful for the manifold proofs of the loving-kindness of the Lord, which he had experienced during the oppressive season of the war, and reflected likewise on the various instances of his goodness in past years; and thus there was scarcely a day that was not memorable to him, in consequence of some benefit he had experienced on it, either in one year or another. Thus every day became important to him, and afforded him a particular opportunity for blessing and praising God.

In other respects, the Count's residence at Bertholdsdorf enabled him to make greater progress in the labours which devolved upon him, than if he had resided in a congregation, where interruption would have been unavoidable. By the particularly gracious providence of God, he and his family were preserved, during the most critical and dangerous period of the war, from every calamity, and from all disturbance, and he enjoyed with them much grace, peace, and blessing.

Notwithstanding the pleasure he took in the prosperity of the church at Herrnhut, it was evident to him that amend-

ments might be made there, as well as at other places. On this subject he expressed himself as follows:—"We do not say, 'May God preserve us! for we know not how things will go, when we are no longer here;' but we draw this conclusion:—If the Lord shows us so much favour, what will he not show to our posterity!"

But his particular affection for Herrnhut caused him much pain, when he met with any thing there which he could not reconcile with a truly christian deportment. Being there on the 17th of June, with the intention of reminding the people of the commencement of that settlement on that day thirty-five years before, he learnt, that some time previous, two or three individuals had grossly transgressed. This grieved him so deeply, that he hastened home, and shut himself up for some days. Soon after, he returned to Herrnhut, and preached an uncommonly impressive discourse on the words, "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature."

The Count's next object was, to encourage the servants of the church, and renew the conferences with the assistants, which had been previously of great utility.

In the month of August, a new place of worship for the church at Herrnhut was opened, the former one having long been too small; and a new building for the girls' school; on the occupation of which, the Count returned heartfelt thanks to the Saviour, accompanied with feelings of shame, for he confessed that he had doubted whether the building could be completed during the war-time. He then blessed the children on their entering it, and gratified them by a hymn on the occasion.

On the 6th of September he left Herrnhut, with his consort, on a visit to Switzerland, accompanied by his son-in-law, his two daughters, Benigna and Elizabeth, and some other of the brethren. On arriving at Leichnam, he heard that a division of the Imperial army had been there in the forenoon, at ten o'clock, and some of the Prussian troops at two o'clock in the afternoon, but had again marched off, and he thanked God for this providential circumstance.

In a discourse in the evening, he observed, "that he was well aware of the inconveniences of travelling; for it was

then impossible to observe order, but things must be taken as they daily and hourly occurred. Many unpleasant circumstances might happen to them, seeing that every place was filled with troops. However, he had not been able to postpone the journey, because he believed the Saviour's cause might be promoted by it. If it pleased the Lord to hear the prayer of the brethren and sisters, and to be with him on this journey, it would be a season of rest and a Sabbath, which he really required. The Lord would, perhaps, suffer him and his company to travel undisturbed, as had been the case that day, and this he would receive as a distinguished favour at his hands."

The next day he continued his journey, and arrived on the 10th at Barby, where his narrations excited much joy and thankfulness, for the mercy and faithfulness, and the wonderful preservation, which the Lord had vouchsafed to the churches in Upper Lusatia, whilst suffering with the rest of the country from the vicinity of two hostile armies.

From Barby, he proceeded to Marienborn. The remembrance of the blissful, as well as painful seasons he had spent in Wetteravia was renewed, in a particular manner, by the sight of the places, which he had not visited for several years. He preached there, on the manner in which the Saviour governs his church, and how he guides his servants with his eye, in that which they have to accomplish in his name. A few days after, he proceeded further, and in October reached Montmirail, where he was received with much joy, not only by the aged Baron Von Wattewille, but also by other friends who awaited him there.

The number of visiters increased so much, that they amounted at length to sixty individuals, from various places in Switzerland and the vicinity. All these caused him great pleasure, because they were persons who had experienced the power of the gospel in their hearts, and adorned it also with their lives. He was particularly rejoiced to find an individual amongst them, whose conversion to the Lord he had earnestly desired seventeen years before, and whom he now met with in a happy state of union with Him.

Many of the friends who visited him being accustomed to the French language, whilst the Count was able to express

himself on religious subjects better in German, his discourses and conversations were at first delivered in the latter tongue, and were translated by one of the brethren, who had a competent knowledge of both. But when no one was there to act as interpreter, he first expressed his sentiments in German, and then repeated them in French. He also gave each an opportunity of conversing with him in private; and conferred particularly with those that had the charge of souls, on which subject he communicated his sentiments.

In the beginning of November, the Count undertook a journey with his company to Geneva, where he had resided for some months with his domestic church, sixteen years before. His intention this time was, not to visit the clergy and professors there, but only some of the friends, whose acquaintance he had made at that time, at their request; and hoped that opportunity would be afforded him of becoming acquainted with other pious individuals also connected with them. He therefore lodged in Beaulieu, whilst the rest of his company remained in the city. His time being but short, having limited it to five days, he was glad to be able to see and speak with his Genevese friends a few at a time. All his discourses were in the French language, and he was heartily rejoiced to find in Geneva a little flock, who so highly valued the doctrine of the atonement by Christ. On the 8th of November, the most of them came again to Beaulieu, and took leave with many tears.

From thence he travelled to Lausanne, where he had a pleasing conversation with brother James Hutton from London, who was residing there. He was visited by several gentlemen of the city, to their no small satisfaction. A conversation with an aged minister from France, who had devoted himself, from his seventeenth year, to the service of his Protestant countrymen, and who gave him copious intelligence of the state of religion amongst them, interested him much. The Count expressed his deep sympathy with them, ardently prayed to God for them, and felt heartily willing to promote their salvation, if the Lord should make his path plain for that purpose. On the 11th he returned to Montmirail.

There he remained a few days longer with his company,

who were no less welcome there and elsewhere, than he was himself. They also afforded him equal joy ; for he felt much attached to such of the French as professed the name of Christ and his saving doctrine, and firmly believed that the Lord would cause them to become a light to others, if they continued in the grace of Jesus Christ, to which they had been called, and suffered themselves to be guided by his Holy Spirit. He then pursued his way to Bern, where he resided with Mr. Fischer, the postmaster, and where he was visited by many friends, with whom he cordially conversed upon Him whom his soul loved. From thence he went to Aarau, and found, besides the friends who dwelt there, visiters from Lenzberg, Hallwyl, and the Palatinate, with whom he likewise conversed on salvation by Christ. He afterwards asserted, that he had been highly gratified in having an opportunity, on this journey through Switzerland, of observing how Divine grace manifested itself so gloriously in the hearts of many, and added, " It causes me joy when that happy number increases, but even a small number ought not to occasion discouragement or hinderance to any one : for the Saviour is as gracious to a small company as to a multitude. He only seeks to possess the whole heart, to which he so gladly approaches and imparts himself."

Many friends from Montbeliard, Mühlhausen, Strasburg, and various other places, waited for him at Basle, and he conversed with them with much affection. From thence he returned through Swabia and Franconia to Ebersdorf. The journey was marked by much that was unpleasant, the like of which he had not experienced for many years ; besides which, before the close of it, he fell seriously ill, yet still he proceeded, until he arrived safely on the 9th of December, at Ebersdorf.

Before he left Montmirail, he had finished the daily texts and watchwords for the ensuing year. Besides which, I must also notice three other treatises of the Count's in 1757. The first is, " The History of the Days of the Son of Man upon Earth ;" compiled from the four Evangelists. This was only an attempt, and he was so little satisfied with it, that he added two sheets of amendments to the very first edition. In this

work, he deviates from Luther's version, and employs a more modern mode of expression; but I have not found that his new translation has been so well approved of by the brethren as the version of Dr. Luther.

The second is a collection of some of his Discourses to Children, during the years 1755 to 1757. Even as Luther's smaller Catechism is esteemed by many to be one of the best of his works, so these Discourses of the Count to Children may justly be reckoned amongst the best of his public addresses. He tenderly loved the children to whom he spoke, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, which operated so powerfully in them, excited in him much joy and thankfulness. What he says to them of the happiness to be enjoyed in intercourse with the Saviour, he had himself experienced in his years of childhood: since then it had been unceasingly verified in his heart, and he lived in it as in his element.

The third treatise I have to notice, is the "First Attempt at a Chronicle of the Festivals, &c. of the Church, for the Use of the Moravian Schools." He did not proceed with it, however, further than the year 329; and therefore, to use his own words, "it is only to be regarded as a specimen how, with the grace and light enjoyed in the present day, ecclesiastical history may be studied, treated, and employed in a brief, solid, and chronological manner."

But to return to the Count himself. He was compelled, soon after his arrival at Ebersdorf, to lay by for awhile, on account of indisposition, which seriously debilitated his frame. He had also much anxiety of mind to sustain, in consequence of believing that, with reference to an occurrence on his journey from Switzerland, he had mistaken the Lord's will. It seemed to others, as well as himself, that this sickness would probably terminate in his dissolution; but the Lord's time had not yet arrived, and the crisis of the disease passed over favourably, although he never fully recovered from it. Meanwhile, he cordially conversed with the office-bearers and teachers of the church, who frequently visited him, as circumstances permitted him, to their pleasure and profit; and notwithstanding his debility, he occasionally delivered a brief address to some one of the sections of the church. Finally,

he concluded this year, which had been so remarkable to him, with an address to the church, and afterwards reminded them of its most remarkable occurrences. "On the whole," said he, "we must thankfully confess, that the Lord our God has proved himself to be the shield and defence of his church. We have to thank him, that the settlements still exist, and have not been destroyed. He has overruled the hearts of the commanding officers in both armies, so that they have personally inspected every thing at Herrnhut, and fully informed themselves of every thing respecting the Moravian church. The consequence has been, that from that time Herrnhut and other settlements have continued their course undisturbed. No one can indeed say what will happen in future; but in the mean time, we have reason to be thankful for the past."

The inference he drew from it was this: "Since the Saviour renders our outward circumstances so tolerable, he certainly intends that we should pay more attention to that which is within. We ought now, more than ever, to make communion with the Saviour our chief concern, and return love for love. Let his grace be and remain with us! With this we will close the old year, and commence the new."

The Count spent the first few weeks of the year 1758 at Ebersdorf. He still felt severely the effects of his illness, and though he sought to collect his powers, and return to his labours, he was unable to do much.

On the 11th of January, he was visited by two neighbouring noblemen, and conversed with them to his own, as well as to their satisfaction. The reigning Count in Ebersdorf also caused him much pleasure by the kindness he showed him during his visit, which was the last he ever paid there.

On the 25th of January, the Count left Ebersdorf, with his company, for Upper Lusatia, and arrived on the 30th, after an absence of five months, at Herrnhut, thankful for all that the church and himself had experienced up to that time. In the evening he delivered a discourse, upon looking to Jesus Christ, who became the sacrifice for our sins, and how present he is to the poor sinner who cleaves to him by faith.

On the 4th of February, he travelled by way of Niesky to Trebus, a manorial estate, upon part of which Niesky is situated, where some of the brethren waited for him. These constituted, with the company that arrived with him, his domestic church for the time, and he continued at Trebus until the 11th of the month. During this period he had many visits, both from Niesky and Herrnhut, but remained, in other respects, undisturbed, although only a short time before some troops had quartered themselves there.

On the 14th of February, he arrived at Herrnhut again, with his retinue, and remained there, with the exception of some trifling excursions, till the middle of July.

Herrnhut at that time enjoyed tranquillity, compared with other places and districts, which were subject to all the calamities of war. During the great famine, occasioned by the war, not an individual at Herrnhut had to complain of want or distress. The Lord blessed the labours of the brethren, and enabled them, from their poverty, to assist the afflicted.

With regard to the principal point, the operations of the Holy Spirit manifested themselves very conspicuously on the hearts of the members of the church, and the most lovely traces of the predominating grace of our Lord Jesus were every where visible. During the Passion-week, the children especially experienced such a feeling of the Saviour's sufferings, that their passion-hymns were often interrupted by their tears. From that time, a work of grace commenced amongst them, which was not only continued, but became daily deeper and more blessed. Many children, who had conducted themselves amiss, wept for the Saviour, and felt in their hearts that they could not do without him.

Although the Count heartily rejoiced at these operations of Divine grace, which were so much in accordance with his daily wish and prayer, yet he was no less troubled at the wants and deficiencies, which he also perceived on all hands, and sought their removal.

With this intention, he felt induced to seek for more assistants to labour in the different choirs. He took it for granted, that in a church of God, it was highly necessary to become acquainted with every individual: for when this was wanting,

much that was useful might be neglected, much that was injurious retained, and the intention of the Saviour, with respect to individuals, might not be attained. But the choirs being some of them very numerous, the Count could scarcely believe that every individual could possibly be attended to in the manner he wished, under the existing arrangements.

He therefore divided each choir into several classes, paying attention chiefly to the difference of age. From each of these classes he selected a few assistants, who were to devote a friendly and confidential attention to others; whilst at the same time, they were clearly given to understand, that this was not to be regarded as a distinct office, nor as a commission to teach others; that they would give satisfaction if they cordially loved all who belonged to their class, set them a good example, and endeavoured to gain their confidence, and if they paid attention to every one, and remembered each in their prayers, but, in other respects, assumed no superiority or authority over them.

The Count anticipated much benefit from this regulation, nor were his hopes entirely frustrated.

In the beginning of April, he removed to Bertholdsdorf, where he intended to hold a synodal conference. He was previously visited by twelve Lutheran ministers, who had assembled on the occasion of their customary pastoral conference, and conversed with them on the discharge of their official functions.

The synodal conference was commenced, under a consciousness of the Divine blessing, and continued for several days. Important resolutions were adopted, with reference to the missions in Surinam and the West Indies: but the Count was seized with such a serious illness, that it was impossible for him to continue it. A pleurisy raged in the neighbourhood, which carried off many people: but the Lord still prolonged the life of the Count. He began to improve when the disease seemed to have reached its height; and as soon as ever he recovered a little, he was immediately intent on continuing his labours. On the 20th of April, he sent for those members of the synod who were still there, and prosecuted the business

which required their attention. The next day he sent for some of the brethren, destined for the missionary service, and conversed fully with them on their destination, and gave them his hearty blessing: and thus he daily increased the business he took in hand, his eagerness for which, and cheerfulness of spirit, preventing him from sufficiently attending to his outward frame, which is often more necessary after, than during the progress of the disease itself.

The teachers of the Moravian churches in Silesia assembled in conference at Neusalz, in the month of June, at which the Count felt induced to be present, with some of the brethren from Herrnhut. The inward state and outward circumstances of the churches in Silesia, and the attention to their several choirs and institutions, formed a prominent part of the subjects discussed: but the Count, besides this, spoke upon a variety of subjects, which are useful and necessary for a minister of Jesus Christ, in whatever circumstances he may be.

In other respects, it seemed as if he were conscious that this would be his last visit to Neusalz. His addresses to the church and its several choirs were uncommonly blessed. He expressed himself to the teachers, respecting what he found requisite to mention, with an unreservedness and solidity never to be forgotten.

On the 14th of June, at midnight, he left Neusalz, and arrived the next day at Trebus, where he found many brethren, who were afterwards joined by others from Herrnhut. Amongst the latter were the members of the commission for managing the pecuniary affairs of the church; and after conversing with the whole of them, he returned to Herrnhut.

On the 25th of June, the anniversary of the presentation of the Augsburg confession, a numerous company of pious people from various places in Upper Lusatia, again assembled at Herrnhut, for mutual edification. The Count rejoiced to see so large a number of persons, who had the testimony of continuing true to their confession of faith, whilst striving after godliness in Christ Jesus, and who quarrelled with no one about ceremonies and outward rites, but were desirous first of their own, and then of their neighbours' improvement. In a discourse delivered to them on that occasion, he confirmed them

in these sentiments, and showed them how wisely they acted in adhering to their own denomination, and in enduring, from love to their Saviour and their neighbours, the privation of much that might be enjoyed in a church, the members of which dwelt together solely for the Lord's sake and that of their salvation; that although it was disagreeable for them to live amongst so many who were not of their sentiments; yet if they evidenced their love to Jesus and their faith in his gospel by their words and works, and by their whole deportment, and thus became the cause of exciting in others a desire either to devote themselves to the Lord, or to connect themselves still more intimately with him—this would certainly be well pleasing and acceptable in the sight of God.

About this time, the Count received intelligence of the capture of the *Irene* by the French, and of her being wrecked near Louisburg; he was, however, much consoled on finding that providentially no lives had been lost.

A second mission to Greenland being decided upon, Matthew Stach, Peter Haven, and Jens Haven were dispatched thither by the Count, accompanied by his blessing, and a copious letter to the brethren in Greenland. Four single brethren and a married couple also took their departure for Surinam, after the Count, though ill at the time, had very cordially and fully conversed with them.

The institutions at Great Hennersdorf, which continued to enjoy, in a very especial manner, the Divine protection in the midst of the disburbances of war, so that their inmates not only remained safe within their walls, but were also able to visit the church at Herrnhut, as often as was thought necessary,—were also frequently visited by the Count whilst at Herrnhut; and his addresses and other efforts, for their encouragement and edification, were rendered very useful to them.

On the 11th of July, he delivered a long address to the church, in which he said all that he wished to mention, with great plainness and in a very impressive manner. He thus concluded his residence at Herrnhut for the time, the last weeks of which were accompanied with the Saviour's peculiar favour and blessing.

The day following, the Count travelled from Herrnhut to Kleinwelke, a small estate not far from Budissin, where the

awakened Wends, to whom the brethren ministered in spiritual things, resided for the time.

It was now above thirty years since he had interested himself for these people, and had never ceased to remember them in his prayers, and to visit them occasionally. Their peculiar failings, and the difficulties which lay in the way of their conversion, were not unknown to him; yet still he believed that the Saviour had thoughts of peace towards them, and expected nothing else but a pleasing result. He now found a new place erected for their meetings, and preached in it, for the first time, to the little flock of Wends, which assembled there. Having ascertained that several of them had the intention of establishing themselves at Kleinwelke, and of commencing a settlement there, he took occasion to express his sentiments on the subject, and, at the same time, gave two warnings to his hearers and their teachers. The first was, not to make their nationalities and customs a pretence for disobedience to the doctrine of Christ. That which was national in them ought to be laid aside, if contrary to the mind of Christ, and if they were desirous of entirely belonging to him. The second thing was, that they must not cease to be a Wendish (or Vandal) church, which might be the case, if many Germans resided amongst them, and if they suffered themselves to be influenced by them. From fidelity to their own nation, they ought to remain Wends, in order, by the help of Divine grace, to become useful to their countrymen.

The Count then proceeded on his journey, and on the 16th of the same month, arrived at Barby. Intending to remain there some weeks, he commenced a daily conference with the preachers who accompanied him, at which the ministers of the church at Barby were likewise generally present.

On the 7th of August, several acoluths were received into the Church, and a few individuals ordained; and the next day the Count, with his attendants, set out for Holland. He had intended to reach Zeist previous to the 13th, but the rising of the waters, which obliged him to make a great circuit, delayed him, so that he did not reach that place till the 14th.

The first thing he did, was to express his sincere joy to the church at the intelligence just before received, respecting a

certain clergyman, who had previously been an adversary, but whom the Lord had graciously made acquainted with the state of his own heart, and brought to seek salvation in the wounds of Jesus, and who had departed this life in the enjoyment of Divine consolation.

The Count afterwards removed, with the church in his house, to Heerendyk, near Ysselstein, in the hope of being less interrupted there, than in a settlement where he could not avoid being visited; believing that his employment in the service of all the churches required a greater degree of retirement. He was also desirous of placing many practical subjects in a still more conspicuous light, for the benefit of his fellow-labourers, and hoped to find more opportunity for so doing in a retired place, than if he resided in a settlement. Many brethren and sisters being his inmates, for the purpose of being prepared for the service of the Saviour in the churches, at home and abroad, he besought them all to make good use of the opportunity, and profitably employ every hour. For this purpose, they ought to make themselves well acquainted with the Bible, and other suitable works; and if this were faithfully attended to, they would never be idle.

The Count's weak state of health compelled him, during his residence in Heerendyk, to a more regular diet than he was otherwise wont to observe. However, he still held three meetings daily with the church in his house,—at noon, in the evening, and before retiring to rest. During the rest of the time, he continued assiduously at work, and the blessing of the Lord was with him.

The Count was heartily rejoiced at the success of the brethren amongst the heathen, which was greater than he had ever expected. This induced him to hope that the Lord would do still greater things, and he therefore encouraged the brethren to neglect no opportunity of carrying the gospel still further. For if it were possible that in every British West-India island, where so many thousand heathens dwell, one or two brethren could reside, who brought only a couple of poor slaves to the knowledge of the Saviour, it would be worth the trouble. At the same time he desired that, from amongst the converted heathens, more labourers might be found to assist in carrying

on the work amongst their own people; and he doubted not but that this would be the case.

Hence it afforded him particular pleasure, whilst residing at Heerendyk, to dispatch so many of the brethren to the heathen. Some went to St. Thomas, to the aid of the mission amongst the slaves in that island; others to Sharon, on the Sarameca, in Surinam, where a small number of believing Arawacks had settled upon a piece of land belonging to the brethren, and had entreated that teachers might be sent them; others again were destined for Antigua and Jamaica.

The Count expressed, in few words, his idea of a missionary to the heathen: "Such a one," said he, "ought to seek, day and night nothing else than to bring the heathen to a saving knowledge of the Saviour. Let him go forth weeping, bearing precious seed, and he will return rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him. Let the Saviour be with him, and in him, and then he will have enough."

Brother Nathanael Seidel, who had been consecrated bishop, for the service of the American missions, set out again on a visitation to St. Thomas, St. Croix, St. Jan, Antigua, and Jamaica. The Count previously conversed with him in a very cordial manner, and had him for some days continually with him, in order that he might ascertain his ideas upon every subject, and communicate his own. In a discourse which he delivered before his departure, he pointed out two principal things which were requisite in all such visitations. The first was, that nothing was more needful for the individual who undertook such a commission, than to have a heart inflamed with love towards the Saviour, and that he should at the same time apply himself to his work in the spirit of poverty, lowliness, and diffidence; especially since he had to do with brethren who had already passed through many trials, in which they had given proof of being the faithful servants of the Lord Jesus. The other point was, that the missionaries themselves, on such occasions, ought reasonably to receive their visiting brethren as a child whom Jesus places in their midst, even as he formerly placed a child in the midst of his disciples, and directed them to learn of it. If this were observed on both sides, a blessing would certainly ensue.

From Zeist, which lies only four leagues from Heerendyk, he had at that time many visiters, and also occasionally visited them in return, although generally only for a short time. He held his family meetings at Zeist as he had done in Heerendyk, only with this difference, that at the former place not only all the ministers, but also the different choirs of the church, visited him in rotation. His chief object was to show the members of each choir, how they might live contentedly and happily under their circumstances, and become acceptable in the sight of God. He also obtained increasing light on the subjects adapted for each choir; and was enabled, from time to time, to express himself more clearly upon them.

Besides his customary discourses upon the texts and watch-words for the year, he also preached at considerable length on the litany of the church. The short ejaculations in it, which have reference to almost every circumstance of the church and its members, gave him an opportunity of pouring out his heart upon many subjects; and I have met with excellent and experimental thoughts and ideas in them. He did not, however, terminate them that year, but continued them the next.

At the close of the year, he found great reason, as was invariably the case, to thank the Lord for the benefits bestowed upon himself and the church; and he did this in the vigils on new-year's eve, with heartfelt emotion: of all the points which he adduced to the praise of God, I will only mention the two following:—

1. The work of Divine grace amongst the children in the seminaries of the brethren, had not only been continued this year, but had also increased. There was something extraordinary in it. "The Saviour," says he, "has never ceased for the last six or seven years, obviously to demonstrate, that the souls of the children are as dear to him as the souls of the parents: out of the mouths of babes and of sucklings he has perfected praise, so that *we* have reason to feel ashamed of ourselves. In upwards of eighty discourses which I have preached to children, and which are now in print, I felt, whilst addressing them, that I had to do with a church; and I spoke to them as respectfully as if I were addressing an assembly of the greatest importance. Our seminaries for

children are tabernacles of God with men, and we can form no idea how far this is the case till we see it." He showed, on this occasion, the great mistakes which are made in the bringing up of children; and observed, that as "all honour belongs to God, but to us shame and confusion of face," so this is evidently the case with us, as regards our children. When I consider my own deficiencies in this respect, I ought at least to take the words to myself, and say, "To me belongeth shame and confusion of face."

2. The gracious preservation of the Moravian settlements, when surrounded by the perils of war, formed a principal subject of thanksgiving. The Lord had inclined the hearts of the commanders-in-chief on both sides, to spare the churches as much as possible: but notwithstanding this, a variety of circumstances inseparably connected with war, might have caused much vexation, misfortune, and injury to the brethren, if they had not been averted by the hand of God. The manifold protection which the brethren, both in America and Europe, had experienced that year, the Count felt the more deeply, because he regarded it as a completely unmerited proof of the gracious superintendence of God with reference to the brethren.

He afterwards knelt down with all that were present, on entering upon the first hour of the new year, and commended himself and them into the merciful hands of God our Saviour, in the enjoyment of the feeling of divine peace.

In the course of the year 1759, much of an interesting nature occurred with reference to the missions of the brethren. The missionaries, Beck and Schuman, were residing at the same time in his house,—the former had returned from Greenland, and the latter from Berbice, in South America. Both had it in their power to give the best intelligence respecting the work of God amongst the heathen, to whom they had preached Christ; for Beck had laboured for twenty-five years amongst the Greenlanders, and Schuman above ten amongst the Arawacks; and the Lord had blessed their labours amongst these tribes with abundant success. Both

were on the point of returning to the churches they had themselves gathered from amongst the heathen; and the Count spent much time in listening to their minutest statements, and in making himself thoroughly acquainted with every thing. They had also opportunities of encouraging and strengthening themselves anew, both in the daily meetings and conferences in the Count's own house, as well as by intercourse with those present, and the letters and intelligence from absent brethren.

The time having arrived when the brethren Beck and Hükkel were to commence their return to Greenland, the Count spoke fully with each of them in particular, commended them to the affectionate remembrance of the whole church, and then blessed them in the name of the triune God, on which occasion the Saviour's presence was so perceptible that few could refrain from tears. But before the missionaries sailed from Copenhagen, the Count wrote to them in the kindest manner, and sent them the letters which they had to take with them for their fellow-labourers in Greenland.

In November of the same year, the missionary Frederick Böhnisch, with his wife and two children, returned from thence. The same month, brother Schuman was dispatched to the Arawacks. But on his return to Berbice, he found to his grief, as the Count had apprehended, that the church collected from amongst the heathen there, had sustained injury during his absence, for want of sufficient pastoral care.

In September, the first missionaries were sent out by the brethren to the East Indies, for the conversion of the heathen there; respecting which, I will only state the part taken by the Count in that affair.

He had been informed the year before, by one of the king of Denmark's ministers, that it would afford his Majesty particular pleasure, if some of the brethren would settle on the Nicobar islands, and endeavour to bring the heathen inhabitants to the knowledge of Christ. The Count was willing to do all in his power towards promoting the object, and expressed himself to that effect, in his answer to the minister above mentioned.

After some time, the Count received information, that the mercantile establishments, which had been formed on the

Nicobar islands, from Tranquebar, had not proved successful, because of the decease of the majority of those who took part in them. This occasioned him to write to the minister, stating, that this circumstance would not deter the brethren from proceeding to those islands, and making an attempt to see whether God would accomplish any thing by their means amongst the heathen in those parts. But for this purpose he took it for granted, that the brethren must have an establishment at Tranquebar, since it was scarcely possible to commence and continue a mission to the Nicobar islands from Europe direct.

This declaration was well received in Copenhagen, and hence the Count was induced to send a deputy thither, to carry on the negotiation.

George John Stahlman, who was selected for this purpose, according to instructions received from the Count, laid before the President and Directors of the Royal Asiatic Company at Copenhagen, the terms on which the brethren were willing to form establishments in the Danish territories in India, and in the Nicobar islands in particular. These proposals, after due consideration, by the Directors of the Company, were laid before his Danish Majesty, and a royal resolution was the result:—

1. That the brethren should be permitted, in all the Danish territories and places in the East Indies, the exercise of divine worship, according to the order and discipline of the Moravian church.

2. It will be a satisfaction to his Majesty, if, in connexion with this, the conversion of the heathen, by the instruction of the brethren, can be promoted; for which purpose, they have liberty to preach the gospel, freely and without obstruction, to the Indians and other nations, to bring them to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, then incorporate them by baptism into the universal christian church, and form congregations of them, according to the Moravian method and order.

3. That all the members of the settlements, to be made by the brethren in the Danish East India territories, shall be entirely exempt from bearing arms, and from all military service whatsoever.

4. That in all judicial and other cases, where an oath is

required, they shall be at liberty, instead of the customary formula, to give their affirmation or assurance in their usual words.

On these and other points of the royal resolution, the Asiatic Company based their letters patent, which the deputy, on his return from Copenhagen, delivered to the Count, on the 14th of February.

The latter, who in his youth had been incited probably by the success of the missionaries, sent out from Halle to the Malabars, to take the firm resolution, faithfully and cordially, to promote the preaching of the gospel of Christ amongst the heathen,—was heartily glad of this unexpected providential arrangement, and reflected seriously upon the best manner of accomplishing the Divine intention. He therefore endeavoured to make himself minutely acquainted with the brethren, who offered themselves for this mission, and devoted many hours to intercourse with them. Each of them also furnished him with a written statement of his spiritual experience, as well as of his sentiments respecting a voyage to the East Indies, with which he was well satisfied. Twelve of these brethren, after having attended the festival of their choir, and received the holy sacrament, set out on their journey, accompanied by the blessing of the church. On the 1st of November, they were followed by two other brethren, accompanied by David Nitschman, who, twenty years before, had been in Ceylon, and they arrived in sufficient time to join the former company, although the vessel had left Copenhagen and lay at Elsineur.

In the beginning of the year, the Count received another friendly epistle from the patriarch of the Copts, in which it is said:—"We pray for you always, as well as for all Christians, and call upon the Lord Jesus Christ, that he would make the christian name honourable throughout the habitable globe, and that he would blot out and take away from us, you, and all the brethren, all sin and iniquity, in order that we may all together become children of the kingdom of God. And now what we desire of you, most dearly beloved brother, is, that you would send us your confession of faith, concerning the Trinity and Unity of God, the incarnation of the Son of God, his cruci-

fixion, resurrection, and ascension." He adds, in the postscript, "Send us also your entire history, that we may know something certain respecting you and your affairs,—what kind of Christians you are, and from what christian nation you are descended. We expect this without fail. May the great God preserve you carefully by his right hand! Amen."

The brethren Hocker and Pilder, who had frequent opportunities of seeing and speaking with this patriarch in Cairo, gave, in their letters, still further accounts concerning him, and requested that an early reply might be sent him.

The Count was much pleased with this letter, and still more with the manner in which the patriarch expressed himself towards the two brethren. He therefore prepared, without delay, a copious letter to the former: the first part of it contained the chief points of the history of the brethren, in which the Count could not avoid mentioning many things respecting himself, as well as of the principles of the brethren and their mode of acting founded upon them: in the second part, he gave the patriarch an idea of the doctrine of the brethren, as well as their peculiar mode of teaching.

The brethren Hocker and Pilder having, meanwhile, commenced their journey to Abyssinia, he took measures for procuring a translation of his reply into Italian or Arabic, and for sending it to the patriarch. But on receiving intelligence that the brethren above mentioned had been obliged to desist from their purpose, in consequence of having suffered shipwreck, which compelled them to return to Cairo, he sent it thither, in German, where it was translated into Arabic by brother Hocker, and presented to the patriarch, together with the original.

As the disturbed state of the country, in consequence of the continuance of the war, prevented the assembling of a general synod, the Count thought it necessary to make every preparation for holding one, as soon as peace should be concluded; and this was the object he had in view, in the preparatory conferences he held in June and December with his fellow-labourers.

On the 11th of July, the Count terminated his residence at Heerendyk, respecting which he stated, that he had spent a

pleasing and blissful season there, even as it respected his labours. The state of his own heart, he mentions in the following words :—"My daily meditation is, O that I might please my suffering Lord, who became a martyr for me; the faithful friend whom my soul loveth; the God who is my joy and delight! O that I might please him,—that my path were right in his sight, my mode of thinking according to his mind, my converse lovely, and my deportment to his honour! May my soul and every member of my frame testify to my union with him, to a soul become one spirit with him, to members that are in reality become his! O that every thing which has the slighest appearance of detaching me from him, may become horrible and disgusting to me!"

On the 9th of August, the Count set out for Neuwied, on a visitation to the church in that place. The latter had suffered much that was painful, during that and the former year, from having the French quartered upon them, but had not on that account retrograded in their spiritual course; on the contrary, they had made progress, and it was evident that the Saviour blessed them. The Count's visit was very acceptable, and caused them much pleasure. He arrived at Neuwied on the 13th of August, soon afterwards met the whole church, and spoke, amongst other topics, of the grace which had been poured out that day thirty-two years before, on the church at Herrnhut, which was at that time not so numerous as the church in Neuwied.

The kind disposition of the reigning Count towards the church, of which the latter had received various proofs that year, was duly estimated by him; and whilst attempting, in his visits to the Count, to preserve him in these sentiments, he recommended the brethren by no means to render themselves unworthy of them. He delivered several addresses, both in French and German, to the church generally, and its several choirs, and held conferences with the ministers; in which he recommended them to be very cautious, with respect to those whom they admitted into the church and to the holy sacrament; because, if people were admitted to that ordinance, who were not heartily devoted to the Saviour, the results would be pernicious both to the church and the people themselves.

It also afforded him pleasure, that, during his residence at Neuwied, a considerable number of friends from the Palatinate, Alsace, Switzerland, and the country of the Grisons, came to visit him, and it was seen that the Lord bestowed a particular blessing upon them.

The visit and intercourse with one individual in particular, with whom he had been acquainted for thirty years, and who loved the Count as cordially as he was beloved by him, afforded him uncommon pleasure: for although the other was overburthened with state affairs, and in that respect was a great man, yet he had excellent views respecting the cause of God, the brethren's chief concern. Our Lord Jesus Christ being the sole ground of friendship between the Count and this worthy man, it was not rent asunder by the decease of the former; for love never ceases.

After accomplishing his object in Neuwied, the Count returned to Zeist, where he arrived on the 8th of September. His labours in the church at that place were so visibly blest of God, that it might be regarded as a peculiar and gracious visitation of the Saviour to the church in Zeist. He also expressly stated, on taking his leave, that he could depart from Zeist well satisfied with respect to it.

On the 24th and 25th of September, the Count received the intelligence of the gracious deliverance which the good hand of God had effected for the church at Neusalz, the members of which, after having been long in a state of extreme anxiety, and completely plundered of their property, were in danger of being consumed in the flames, in consequence of their houses having been set on fire; but were so wonderfully rescued, that not a single individual lost his life.

On this occasion, the Count expressed himself as follows:— "I am firmly convinced, that every thing which our Saviour does, is deserving of thanks. Our first thought on hearing intelligence, of whatever nature, ought to be, Thanks and praise to God! this will prove another masterpiece of his faithfulness. If we are unable to render thanks, it is best to be silent, until we are able to acknowledge the fidelity and wonder-working power of God in this new instance."

These being his principles, he could never bear such events

to be written or spoken about, in such a way as not to excite praise and thanksgiving to God, but rather anger against those who had caused them, and vexation at the loss sustained, or some other feeling of the kind. And because, in this instance, this had been done, contrary to a christian spirit, he expressed his sentiments upon the subject with great warmth, and sent a serious warning to all the churches, to avoid every thing of the kind in future. The circumstance itself, that all the brethren and sisters, small and great, had been, by God's visible help and protection, delivered out of the hands of those who had cruelly treated so many, even of the most respectable people, or carried them away captive, struck him very forcibly, and he sent a circumstantial account of it to all the churches.

Meanwhile, the provision for the exiles from Neusalz was so easily made by the kindness of the brethren, that the thing was already done whilst the Count was reflecting upon the means of accomplishing it.

After the Count had solemnized the 13th of November, in Zeist, as a memorable day for the Moravian church, he set out with his retinue for Barby, and arrived there on the 24th. He there prepared the watchwords and texts for the ensuing year; and, after residing nearly a month at Barby, and making himself acquainted with every person and circumstance there, he took his departure, on the 19th of December, for Upper Lusatia.

He arrived at Kleinwelke, on the 22d, and found the church there still full of thanksgiving and praise for the gracious preservation they had experienced that year, from the dangers to which they were exposed by the war. The Count remained a few days there; partook of the sacrament with the church, gratified them by a public address, and then proceeded to Herrnhut, where he arrived on Christmas eve: he kept the vigils with the children, and on calling upon them in the words,—

> "Help me to praise our gracious God,
> Ye little children dear!"

they responded by singing the most animating verses and hymns.

During the following days, he delivered several homiletical addresses to the different choirs; and gave permission to the brethren and sisters to visit him, who accordingly came in their several choirs, in rotation, to salute and welcome him. On the 31st of December, he kept the customary vigils with the church, at the close of the year; on which occasion, he recalled to their remembrance whatever of a remarkable nature had befallen the united churches during the year, with gratitude and thankfulness to God. He then, in a heartfelt prayer, commended himself and the church to the love of the Saviour, the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, and the blessing of the Father, and wished that every thing might be removed which might interrupt the prosperity of their souls, and the Lord's pleasure in them.

I now come to the year in which the only wise God conducted his faithful servant to his eternal rest. It cannot be said that the Count had any obvious presentiment of it, or any certainty in his heart with respect to his approaching dissolution. In this respect, the case was the same with him as in many other instances, concerning which he expresses himself as follows:—

"In order that we may go forwards in our simplicity, the Saviour does not suffer us to know beforehand much of what he is about to do with us. He guides us gently from one day to another, and when he perceives that a matter must be brought up out of the depth of his providence, for which we naturally could not prepare ourselves, he conceals the thing from us, and does not suffer the idea of it to occur to us."

He drew no inference from the weakness which his last illnesses had left upon him, with respect to his speedy dissolution; partly because he thought, with many physicians, that most diseases tend rather to prolong than to shorten life; and partly because it was evident to him, that God had numbered the days of all mankind, and especially of his children and servants, and that none of them leave this world before the time appointed by him. He felt, however, a constant longing to depart and to be with Christ; and it was only the heartfelt and intimate fellowship he enjoyed with the Saviour, and

the joy he experienced in the house of the Lord, that is, the church of Jesus Christ, which rendered this longing tolerable to him. Respecting this, he expressed himself as follows :— "If we are always hoping that the Saviour will soon come, and receive us into his rest, it is a noble, blissful, tender, captivating thought. Where this hope and longing becomes habitual and natural to a people, it makes them in reality the people of God, it gives them the character of a family of Christ, which every year approaches nearer to him, and meanwhile feasts upon his merits, until they depart, to see him in whom they have believed, and to whom they have joined themselves."

It would, however, almost seem, on a retrospective glance, as if he had perceived or been aware of something of the kind, and that he should soon finish his course here below; for he pursued his occupation in such a manner, as a servant of Christ would do who had still much to accomplish, and little time for that purpose. At the very beginning of the year, he expressed, in few words, that to which his heart and mind were directed with regard to his preaching. He wished to tell the world, with reference to the adoration due to the name of Christ, that his creatures should learn to pray on their knees, *Christ have mercy upon us!* and in the church, he intended to discourse first of grace, and then of judgment. (Psalm ci. 1.) "The great object in our churches," said he, "should be daily to receive, with all humility, the grace which the poorest sinners obtain; to live simply upon grace, and to establish ourselves in it so firmly, as to be nothing but children of grace, and saved by grace; in order that when once we come to him, and though we had been ever so faithful in his service, and had laid aside all evil, and until the end of our days had ceased to sin against him,—we may not think of our goodness or piety, but regard ourselves as poor sinners, who are admitted into heaven solely because of the ransom which he has once for all paid for our souls. Thus, one half of our theme treats of grace, and this is the main point; the other is called judgment or justice; by which the statutes of the sanctuary are to be understood. The Saviour makes of poor sinners, who have obtained forgiveness through his blood, saints who know how to preserve their members in sanctification and honour, and to

direct every thing that occurs in this life to his glory and his praise, and to the joy and honour of his house. The Holy Spirit is unwearied in two things; first, in daily glorifying the Saviour and his atonement in the souls upon whom he labours; and secondly, in establishing and regulating the ordinances of the sanctuary, and appointing faithful men for this purpose, who may watch over and preserve them, and communicate them to their brethren.

Soon after the beginning of the year, the Count commenced a conference with his fellow-labourers, to which others also were admitted, who were destined for the Saviour's service, in which his chief intention was, to extend and render more universal the unanimity of the servants of the Unity, with reference to those fundamental principles which had stood the test of many years' experience, in the accomplishment of the work of God intrusted to them: in order to which, he procured the printing of an "Extract from the Conference Minutes."

Besides the above-mentioned larger conferences, he also conferred almost daily with those of his fellow-labourers, whom he was wont to consult respecting the whole of what was committed to him. In the latter, many resolutions were adopted either concerning the church, the various institutions, missions, offices, &c., in general, or certain persons or things in particular. On being reminded of the carrying into effect the things resolved upon, he replied, "Now is the time to adopt resolutions; the time will also come when they will be carried into effect."

He also again visited, this year, the conference of ministers in Upper Lusatia, to their mutual satisfaction. Those Lutheran preachers were called to mind, who were known to the brethren as faithful witnesses of our redemption through the sacrifice of Christ. It was found that their number was considerable, on which, thanks were rendered the Saviour on their account, and they were commended to his favour.

Towards the end of January, his beloved children John and Benigna Von Wattewille, returned from England, whither they had proceeded from Holland the previous August, and remained with him at Herrnhut; excepting that his son-in-law,

who had held a visitation to all the Moravian churches in England, Wales, and Ireland, took a journey for the same purpose to Silesia.

It was not only known to the Count, but also to many of the brethren, that John Von Wattewille differed from his father-in-law in some things, and acted from other views: but notwithstanding this, they had continued all this time united in heartfelt affection, and both laboured with equal fidelity for the same object. But for some time previous to this, the Count had found more to object to in his son-in-law, and occasionally expressed his anxiety respecting it to others of the brethren. During their present intercourse, these differences were removed, and the Count felt such confidence towards him, that he concealed nothing from him, which he had in his heart. He even revealed the faults to him, of which he knew himself to be guilty, with a degree of candour uncommon from parents to children. This he did partly with the faithful intention of warning him against such mistakes, and partly from an inclination to show himself to his immediate assistants just as he was.

At the close of the month of March, Bishop Seidel arrived from his visitation to the English and Danish West India islands, and brought back with him brother Caries from Jamaica, and brother Haberland from Pennsylvania. They had not only been in imminent danger of being captured by privateers on their voyage, but also experienced such a dreadful storm, that the vessel seemed on the point of sinking; they had, however, been graciously rescued and preserved from both. The Count's joy at their arrival was so great, that he immediately led them about himself, that others might also participate in his joy.

With equal feelings of pleasure, he also received brother John Töltschig, one of the five Moravians who arrived in Herrnhut in the year 1724, just at the time when the first stone was being laid for the meeting-house there. He arrived with his wife, after an absence of upwards of twenty years, which he had spent partly in America, and partly in England, Holland, and Ireland, in the service of the Saviour. The Count himself showed him every thing that had been built

and set on foot during their absence, and mentioned to them at the love-feast in the evening, from memory, the names of the brethren and sisters in all the choirs, whom they had formerly known in Herrnhut, three-fourths of whom had already left this world.

He was also particularly delighted with a letter from a female assistant in North America, who shortly after the date of it finished her earthly course. I insert it, in order that it may be seen what kind of things caused the Count more joy than can be described. For whenever he received such a letter, he read it with such heartfelt delight, and so many tears of thankfulness and joy, and his lips overflowed in such a manner with the praises of God, that it was clearly evident what was his chief desire and concern in this world. The letter is as follows:—

After stating the connexion of her heart with her Saviour, she says, "I feel that I am a sinner, and a miserable creature in his sight; and yet he has regarded me with a favourable eye, and caused me to experience his peace, respecting the whole of my conduct in the church. He is my propitiation. He has taken possession of my heart, and will retain it; and thus for the time, I am truly blessed, and delight in his nearness to me, and feast myself upon his sufferings for me. Gladly would I become meet for him, that he might soon take me to himself. I often weep, on this account, before him in a child-like manner, and feel a longing desire after him. However, as much as in me lies, I will most gladly spend my days and hours amongst his and my people, for his sake, and to his joy and glory. For this purpose, may he often sprinkle me with his blood, and keep me, like Mary Magdalen, at his feet.

"With regard to my sisters, they are all happy and contented, and my dear Saviour has latterly manifested much favour towards them. We have recently vowed at Jesus's feet, to be faithful in our love to him, and feed every day upon his sufferings; and then also to love each other in a truly artless manner, and associate confidentially together, as we were formerly in the habit of doing. We earnestly wish that the Saviour would restore the ancient simplicity amongst us. For a time, there was something wanting amongst us, which

has often made me weep in the presence of my dear Lord: but now we feel his lovely nearness even in that respect amongst us, and the Holy Spirit draws every heart which was still backward. I can also say respecting the female assistants in the country, that they would gladly cause the Saviour joy in every respect. Their labours are blest amongst the souls committed to their charge; they themselves experience a growth in grace. With respect to those of us, in similar offices here, we love each other cordially, and assist each other as well as we are able; and thus success attends our labours, and none of us find them too difficult. Our children's seminaries also prosper, and they are as a beautiful garden of our dear Lord. My heart melts when I contemplate their growth in grace."

The more the Count made himself acquainted with the spiritual state of every member of the church, the more important appeared to him the purposes of God with reference to them, and the grace which so powerfully manifested itself in them. He acknowledged, also, with much thankfulness, that the Lord had graciously given him so many fellow-labourers, who not only evidenced that they were servants of God in the church of Christ, but also approved themselves as children of God. He thought, however, that the labourers were too few, and that their number ought to be increased, and wished also that his fellow-labourers should make themselves increasingly acquainted with the Saviour's will, increasingly exercise themselves in the ways of the Lord, become more confidential one with another, harmonize more in every respect, be more indefatigable in their labours, more watchful against every evil thing which would seek to insinuate itself, more courageous in adversity, more cautious in times of peace, more intimate in intercourse with their Lord, more obedient to the voice of the Holy Spirit, more mistrustful of themselves, more compassionate towards the poor and the needy, more powerful and experienced in the doctrines of the Bible, more ardent in love to the Saviour, and more faithful and steadfast in all their ministerial labours.

He reflected much, about this time, on the painful events of the last ten years, but did not introduce the subject into his

public discourses. The doctrines of the gospel of Jesus Christ expelled all allusion to them. But he frequently expressed himself respecting them in conversation, as well as in conferences with his assistants.

He had, meanwhile, resolved to institute a solemn thanksgiving festival, and on that occasion to bring forward every thing in connexion, which the Lord had hitherto done for the brethren, both generally and particularly. He felt assured that the younger members of the church would receive such an impression from it as would remain indelibly impressed upon their hearts during their whole lives: but because he wished to wait for the accomplishment of some things, which were not yet fully completed, in order that he might have every thing together, which had reference to the whole affair, this festival was not celebrated during his lifetime.

The last work which the Count prepared for the press was the daily texts and watchwords for the year 1761. He was occupied with this and other labours until the beginning of May, when he made arrangements for another journey to Zeist: but his consort was taken so ill, that it seemed probable she would soon finish her course. But he was beforehand with her, and left her a widow, though only for a very short time, for she followed him the same month.

"On the 5th of May, the Count, although he had slept little the previous night, completed the work he had assigned himself for the forenoon, with equal precision and pleasure, exclaiming, "Now rest is sweet." He sat at table for the last time, but ate scarcely any thing, and complained of extreme thirst. In the afternoon, he composed an instructive ode for the festival of the unmarried sisters, and was also present at their love-feast, but was soon after compelled to retire to bed. His physician found that he was attacked by a violent catarrhal fever, which produced great debility. He conversed that evening with his three daughters, and some other individuals of his household, in a very confidential and pleasing manner. He said to them, with reference to his illness, that when formerly unwell, he had always minutely inquired into the cause of his illness, and what the Lord intended by it; and as soon as he had ascertained it, he

always preferred revealing it to his intimate friends, to the keeping it to himself. He knew that the Saviour was not opposed to our openly presenting ourselves before his children as poor sinners, and it always rendered the chastisement lighter. Thus he had acted during the whole of his life, and had always asked forgiveness of his adversaries, as soon as he found that he had erred respecting them. Nor had his openness, in this respect, suffered injury, by their frequent abuse of it; for the Lord knew how to raise his people again to honour. This time, however, he felt assured that the Saviour had no such intention in his sickness. He was inwardly very cheerful, and entirely resigned to the Lord.

He passed the night almost without sleep, which debilitated him still more, but his spirit continued in its wonted activity. He was accustomed, when ill, to have read to him the letters that were received, and the answers that were returned, and this was the case likewise that day. He revised the watchwords for the year 1761, and listened to the latest intelligence which had arrived from the various churches and missions, and at which he expressed his satisfaction.

The next night his illness increased; he was unable to obtain any sleep, and the physician began to be apprehensive of a fatal result. An incessant cough rendered speech difficult; yet still he expressed his pleasure at the presence of his oldest and most intimate friend, Baron Frederick Von Wattewille, and Count Henry XXVIIIth Reuss, both of whom conversed with him in a pleasing manner. The ministers of the church took it in turn to be with him, and he received each of them with the tenderest affection.

The following night he was also extremely friendly and kind towards the brethren who sat up with him, but was too weak to sleep, and his frequent slumbers lasted scarcely longer than a minute at a time. Notwithstanding this, he was more cheerful on the 8th than during his whole illness. Whoever came to him, was received most affectionately. "I cannot express," said he to his son-in-law, and others who were present, "how much I love you all. I am now in my element. We are together like angels, and as if we were in heaven."—"Could you have thought it," said he to one of the company,

"that the prayer of Christ, 'that they all may be one,' would be so blissfully fulfilled amongst us?" Whilst speaking on this subject, the greatest kindness and love shone in his countenance. He then called to mind many who had already entered into the joy of their Lord, and calculated how many of his acquaintances and friends had joined the church above. He mentioned also, on this occasion, the blissful dissolution of the Countess Louisa of Solms.

In the afternoon, he sent for brother Lauterbach, who used to assist him in his writings, and applied, with much satisfaction and admirable presence of mind, the last hand to the correction of the last month of the watchwords for the following year, and also altered many things in the collects.

Soon after, he began gratefully to call to mind what great things the Lord had done to his church, through his instrumentality, during upwards of thirty years, and all that had been accomplished since that period. He recounted them one after another, and said to one of those who were his first associates, and to others present, "Did you suppose, in the beginning, that the Saviour would do as much as we now really see, in the various Moravian settlements, amongst the children of God of other denominations, and amongst the heathen? I only entreated of Him a few first-fruits of the latter, but there are now thousands of them." He blessed and praised the Lord for this and so many other unexpected blessings, with a grateful and humble heart.

With the same pleasure and cheerfulness in which he spent the last day of his earthly pilgrimage, he also passed the last night of his earthly life. He conversed much with his Saviour, and also wrote and laboured much. The affairs of several of the brethren lay near his heart. He inquired after them by name, and remembered all those with whom he wished to have spoken: in short, all those things in which he had hitherto been engaged, were perfectly present to his mind.

With respect to his disorder, it seemed the evening before, as if it would cause an outward eruption; but at midnight it was perceived that his tongue refused its office, a violent

attack of phlegm occurred, which, however, passed off in a few minutes. Speech also returned towards morning, and he heartily thanked the Saviour for being still able to speak.

Very early on the 9th of May, he said, in a faint voice, to a person who came to visit him, "I am well satisfied with the ways of my Lord: he has special thoughts of peace concerning his disciple; but you do not think so at present. I think I have almost done with you; you know my sentiments, if I should now be taken home." He was not then able to say any more.

Soon after, John Von Wattewille was called, who, at his request, took his seat close by his bed-side, because he could not speak sufficiently audibly. He said to him, "Now, my dear son, I am going to the Saviour, I am ready, I am quite resigned to the will of my Lord, and he is satisfied with me. If he is no longer willing to make use of me here, I am quite ready to go to him; for there is nothing more in my way." He then briefly regulated some affairs with him, respecting which he was the most anxious, and which he enjoined him to expedite.

Baron Frederick Von Wattewille and David Nitschman came soon after; he received them very tenderly, and conversed with them: but his voice became again so faint, that they were able to understand very little. He then sent for his children; but before they arrived an apoplectic seizure had deprived him of speech. He looked at them in the kindest manner, saluted them, and blessed them.

Meanwhile, nearly a hundred brethren and sisters had assembled in the room where he lay, and the adjoining apartments. The disciple of Jesus, now about to depart, looked a few times around him with a kind and indescribably cheerful countenance, which was answered by the affectionate tears of those present. His parting look was uncommonly expressive and serene. Towards the end of the ninth hour of the day, he reclined his head upon his pillow, his eyes closed of themselves, and he ceased to breathe.

His son-in-law accompanied the departing spirit with the words, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." The peace of God was powerfully felt by all present, and

many an ejaculation was heard expressive of the wish to follow him.

At three o'clock in the afternoon, the whole church assembled in their place of worship, when John Von Wattewille informed them of the dissolution of this man of God, who will ever be had in remembrance by the whole Moravian church, and also related the particulars of his illness and decease. Prayer closed the solemnity; but words were soon exchanged for tears, and they were suffered to speak alone.

On the 10th of May, in the forenoon, the body was clothed in the gown he was wont to wear in the exercise of his ministerial functions, and having been placed in a coffin, covered with violet-coloured cloth, in the saloon of his house, was visited by the whole congregation, according to their respective choirs, beginning with the youngest children. Towards evening, the coffin was closed; but not an hour passed, during that and the following day, in which companies did not assemble round the coffin, who conversed upon the fellowship with the church above, and sung at intervals suitable hymns.

The 14th of May was fixed for the funeral. In the forenoon, the coffin was brought into the place of worship; around it sat six brethren, who were relieved every hour by others The organ, and other musical instruments, performed soft and soothing music, whilst many came as spectators of the scene. A great number of strangers, of all ranks, from the neighbouring towns and villages, as well as of the soldiers of the imperial army then in the vicinity, assembled early to witness the funeral. Every one was permitted to enter the place and view the body. Many afterwards asserted, that they not only experienced a feeling of awe on entering the place, but also that they left it with such a profound impression as they shall never lose. Between ten and eleven o'clock, a lieutenant, with a company of imperial grenadiers, which General Von Beck, the Austrian commander-in-chief at Zittau, had sent, in order to prevent disorder during the funeral procession, entered the place with martial music. The object of this was so fully attained, that not the smallest impropriety occurred, but every thing took place in the greatest silence and the most beautiful order.

The grave had been prepared in the burial-ground of the church, at the further end of the principal walk, close to the tomb of the late Countess.

At five in the evening, the funeral procession commenced. The whole congregation assembled in the space before the old chapel, according to their several choirs. All the females appeared clothed in white. A general, heart-affecting, tranquillity pervaded the whole of Herrnhut at the time of this great assembly.

No sooner had the congregation assembled, than the trombones sounded, and twelve of the brethren, appointed for that purpose, brought the coffin out of the chapel to the square, and placed it in the midst of the circle formed by the congregation. Thirty-two presbyters and deacons of the Moravian church, who happened to be in Herrnhut at the time, from Holland, England, Ireland, North America, Greenland, &c., placed themselves about the coffin, to bear the corpse to its resting-place.

Brother John Nitschman, as minister of Herrnhut for the time being, then sang a few verses with the congregation; after which the procession commenced in the following order:— First the children from the boys' schools at Great Hennersdorf, Niesky, and Herrnhut; the youngest of them clothed in white. Then followed the musical choir, playing appropriate tunes. After these came the whole of the children from the institutions of the Unity at Herrnhut. Then the Count's three daughters, accompanied by the chief female assistants. Immediately before the corpse walked John Nitschman, with two bishops at his side. Then followed the coffin, borne by sixteen of the above-mentioned presbyters and deacons, who were relieved by sixteen others, who walked with them. The relatives followed the coffin, accompanied by the principal office-bearers amongst the brethren; and then the whole of the brethren and sisters, in their different choirs. The number of individuals forming the funeral procession amounted to two thousand one hundred. The order, decency, and universal devotion which prevailed, made such an impression on the spectators, who were nearly two thousand in number, that they could not conceal their admiration.

On arriving at the burial-ground, the children of both sexes formed themselves in a circle round it, extending as far as the eminence on which the musicians stood; the rest of the choirs occupied, in three double lines, the extreme walks, and the relatives and ministers stood on both sides of the tomb.

After several suitable verses had been sung, the officiating minister repeated the watchwords of the 7th, 8th, and 9th of May, with the words, "We commit this grain of wheat to the earth, though not without tears; but it will yield its fruit in due time, and He will joyfully gather in his harvest with thanksgiving and praise. Let all who desire this, say Amen!" and the congregation answered, 'Amen!'

The minister and congregation then prayed responsively a portion of the church Litany, which was concluded by the usual benediction, accompanied by the musical choir: on which the whole procession returned in the same order in which it had come.

Thus did this faithful servant of Jesus Christ terminate his earthly course, which had been so entirely devoted to God, in the peace of God, and the joy of the Holy Ghost.

On the 11th of July, a funeral sermon was preached for him at the church in Bertholdsdorf, by the Rev. Burchard George Müller, from the words of Paul: "By the grace of God, I am, what I am." (1 Cor. xv. 10.)

Although the character of the Count may be inferred from the preceding history of his life, and from what I have already had occasion to say of it, yet it may still prove agreeable to some of my readers, if I briefly recapitulate its principal features.

His genius was altogether of no common order. His imagination was very lively, his thoughts flowed rapidly and like a current, and in investigating a subject he was patient and unwearied. His fruitful mind brought forth a profusion of ideas, some of which were very uncommon, and frequently expressed in terms which made them appear still more strange. He was unusually rich in plans for doing good, and in

suggestions as to the best manner of carrying them into effect,—and when discoursing on subjects of this kind, displayed peculiar animation.

His memory was quick and comprehensive, though with respect to the minuter details of a transaction, it could not always be relied on.

He was naturally of so active and lively a turn, that it was difficult for him to be idle. What he once took in hand, he was unwilling to lay aside until it was completed. While thus occupied he exerted all his powers, and was able to accomplish much. He did not like to be interrupted in his labours, but if interruption was unavoidable, he found no difficulty in dismissing one subject and entering with his whole mind into another; in this case however, it was not easy for him to resume that in which he had been previously engaged.

His temper seems to me to have greatly resembled that of Luther. With respect to both these distinguished men, thanks are due to God, for having taken them early under his tuition, drawn them to himself, and constrained them to devote themselves to his service; for otherwise they would both, in all probability, have done as much evil in the world, as, by God's grace, they have done good.

His emotions were strong and vehement, and easily carried him too far. He could be too yielding when under the influence of love, and too warm and impetuous under that of anger. That which grieved him, generally affected him too deeply; whilst, on the contrary, if any thing pleased him, his joy, though not extravagant, took possession of his whole soul. If he entertained apprehensions respecting a person or circumstance, he was apt to take an extreme view of the case with its consequences, and did not easily yield to reasonable remonstrance.

When he asserted any thing respecting the truth of which he was deeply convinced, he could not well bear to be contradicted. But it frequently happened, that he afterwards reflected on the objections which had been brought forwards, and profited by them.

When he was in the company of those, of whom he had some hopes that they felt an attachment to the Saviour, and

were under the operation of the Holy Spirit, he conversed familiarly with them, without any regard to their denomination, descent, or peculiar sentiments, especially if they were persecuted by others.

He had a remarkable gift in conversing with such as were of very opposite sentiments to himself, and was able, plainly and undisguisedly, to state his opinions without giving them offence. But before he had sufficient experience, he frequently conceded too much or too little ; and cherished more esteem for many individuals than they deserved.

His narrations appeared sometimes improbable, unless all he said was minutely attended to ; for the meaning of a sentence often hinged upon a single word, and if that was not observed or rightly understood, the fact asserted might easily appear dubious.

But that which was most manifest in him was, his devoted love to his Saviour—the constraining principle being that love of our Lord Jesus Christ to the children of men, which induced him to suffer in their stead the death of the cross. Hence arose heartfelt gratitude to his Redeemer, an earnest desire to serve him, and persevering efforts to lead souls to him. Thus it was with him a far higher object of ambition to become a preacher of the gospel, than to fill the most honourable stations in society. On this account, he esteemed the reproach of Christ more than the advantages of rank, and rejoiced when he was counted worthy to suffer for Jesus's sake. From this source also flowed his indefatigable activity in the Saviour's service, his frequent grief on account of his deficiencies, and his incessant longing after confidential intercourse with him.

He generally manifested great cheerfulness of spirit. He looked for nothing but good from the Lord, in whom he delighted ; and if he besought any thing of him, he did it confidently, and with a certain hope of being heard. Every subject of thankfulness and praise to God, however inconsiderable it might seem to others, was important and interesting to him. His supreme concern was, to do his Lord's will, and to enjoy an inward consciousness of what was most agreeable to him, at different times and under various circumstances.

As the incarnation of Jesus Christ, and his sufferings for us, was the subject that filled his heart, so it constituted also the principal theme of his discourses.

In associating with others, unless he had particular reasons for being upon his guard, he was as artless as a child. In his demeanour, and in his very aspect, might be discerned the blessedness of a heart sprinkled from an evil conscience with the blood of the Lamb. Whatever he did and said, testified of his tender love to the Saviour and the members of that church, which He has so dearly purchased. He was friendly, cordial, unsuspicious, confidential, frank, and at peace with all men. It afforded him heartfelt pleasure to advise, assist, and do good to any; and in this respect, he made no distinction between friends and foes, except that he was inclined to yield the latter priority of service. This willingness to help, and the hope of being able to do so, often induced him to promise more than he was able to perform. Whoever knew him well, was aware that nothing grieved him more, than his inability to assist, whether bound by a promise or not.

He possessed a deep insight into his own and other men's corruption and sinfulness, derived both from Scripture, observation, and experience. This was the cause, why he frequently felt great anxiety with respect to his dearest friends, and by the expression of it, disquieted both himself and others. Hence he did not think it enough to remove the causes of offence, but earnestly sought to avert every thing that might become an occasion to sin, produce the appearance of evil, or any other bad consequence. His carefulness, in this respect, extended to every member of the church, not excepting even the youngest children, and to every thing, however trifling, that concerned them.

He devoted particular attention to those that were weak, simple, ungifted, and thus—according to the usual mode of thinking—worthless, and despicable; and persons of this description, if he perceived in them a love to the Saviour, were much esteemed by him.

Notwithstanding all his diligence and fidelity in the service of the Lord and his church, the idea of merit never occurred to him; but he believed he had already received his

reward, and that he should never be able sufficiently to thank the Saviour for his faithfulness towards him, even if he had been a thousand times more faithful and diligent.

His personal appearance was noble; in stature he was above the middle size; though in his youth rather inclined to be slender, he grew corpulent in his later years. This did not impair either his vivacity or his industry; it only rendered exercise the more necessary, of which he sought to avail himself as much as his occupations permitted.

After arriving at manhood, he had an excellent constitution; but it frequently suffered from the excessive activity of his mind.

The physiognomist could hardly fail to read in his eyes, (which, though possessed of penetrating fire, had at the same time, a captivating and friendly expression,) and in his forehead, the leading features of a character, of which it is impossible to convey any adequate idea in words.

I now conclude this biography, from the details of which it is clearly evident,—

1. That the Count immutably preserved and faithfully executed the purpose formed in his childhood, of serving the Lord with all his heart and strength, until his dissolution.

2. That the opposition to it which he experienced in his youth, and which pursued him through life, was to him but as waves beating upon a rock.

3. That, with all the understanding, ability, courage, and diligence, which God had bestowed upon him, he could never have maintained his ground, unless God himself had supported him, graciously appeared for him in every trying circumstance, and granted him, at his request, counsel, consolation, and aid.

4. That he boldly and successfully confessed Jesus Christ and his sacred word, on every occasion, before high and low, believers and infidels.

5. That it was clearly perceptible, during the whole period of his ministry in the house of the Lord, that God himself had anointed him to be his servant; and that, although in the discharge of his office he might occasionally use severity, and sometimes, in consequence of his natural temperament, even

to excess, he approved himself to the hearts and consciences of all, as a distinguished and faithful servant of Christ.

6. That he made the Saviour's cause his chief object, and thought himself under obligation most faithfully to promote it, at the hazard of honour and property, health and life; and that his thoughts and efforts were directed to the attainment of every object within his reach, whence he had reason to believe glory would redound to his Heavenly Master.

He now rests in peace, and beholds Him in whom he here believed, and whom not having seen, he loved.

The name of the Lord be eternally blessed for all the mercy shown towards him, and the good done by him!

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